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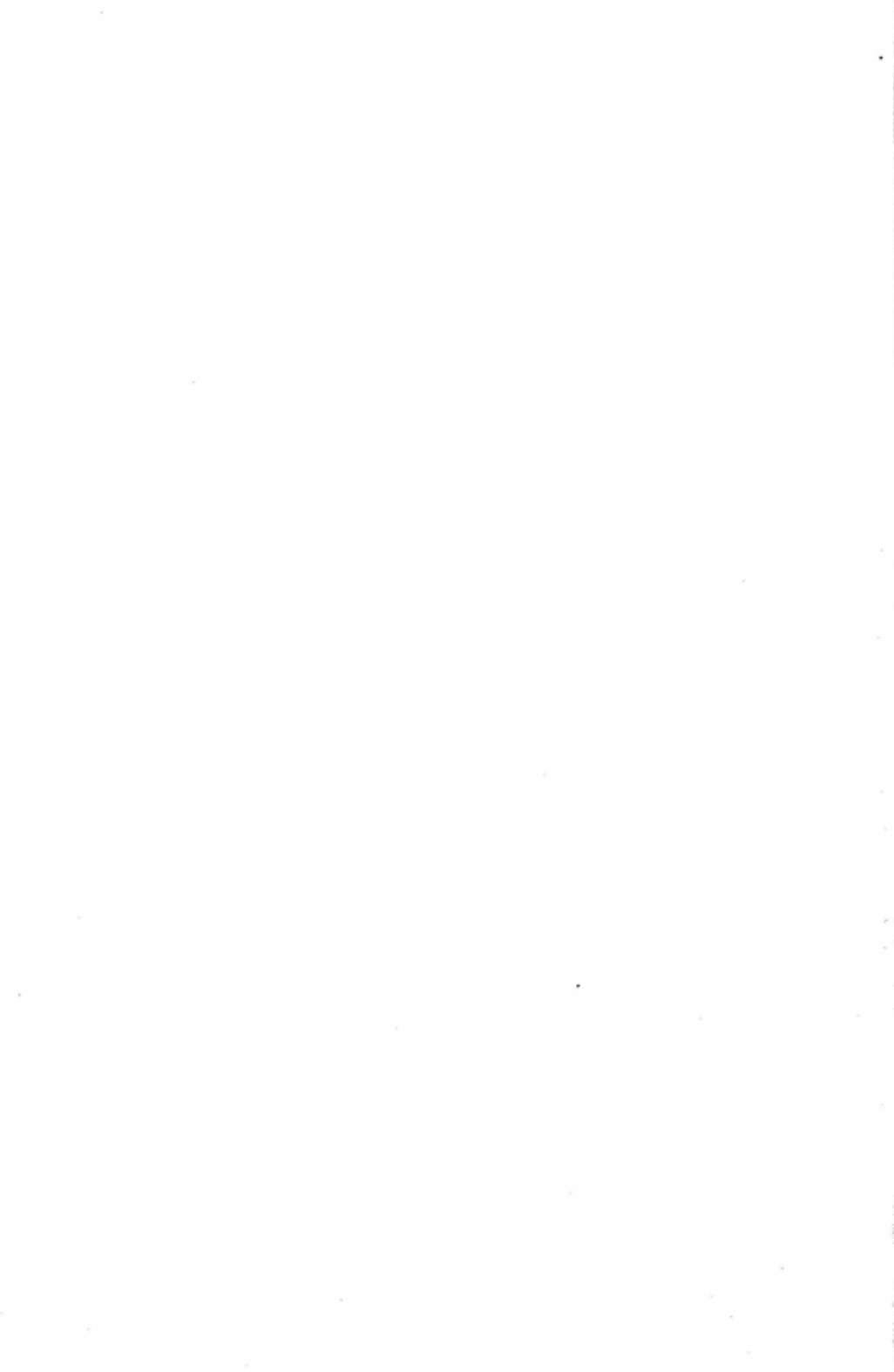
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THE ANCIENT CITY OF ATHENS

Its Topography and Monuments



THE
ANCIENT CITY OF
ATHENS

Its Topography and Monuments

by

IDA THALLON HILL

With 2 Plates and 34 Plans

448.

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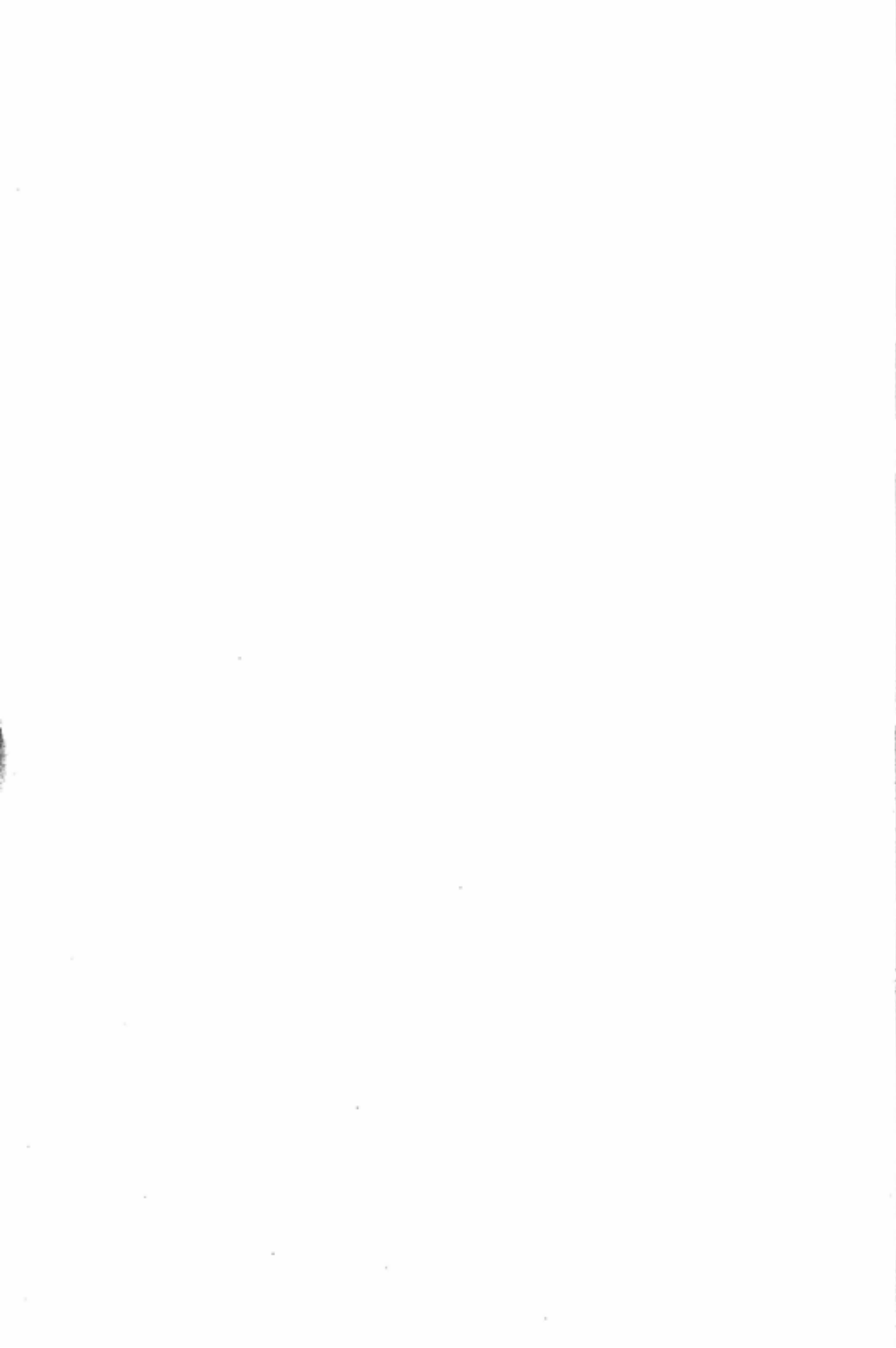
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To
the imperishable memory of
JANE ELLEN HARRISON
Guide, Philosopher and Friend



PREFACE

TO face the staggering task of writing the ideal book on Athens would require the combination of fighting courage and mellow wisdom embodied only in the patron Goddess of Athens herself. Even the hero Herakles had to depend on her for the accomplishment of his labours and we lesser mortals can only follow far in the rear trying never to lose sight of the Divine Guide, although ours must be the more modest aim of selection and combination from the vast amount of material that has accumulated in the last few decades.

The material is of two kinds—definite reports of the actual discoveries in the excavations which have revolutionised previous topographical views and articles and discussions to which these new discoveries have given rise. The need for something that should within reasonable limits sum up the results of recent excavations and studies was obvious. The best books in English are more than forty years old and the second edition of Judeich appeared in 1931, just before the excavations in the Agora, the North Slopes of the Acropolis and the Kerameikos began.

Two works, Frazer's *Pausanias* and Miss Harrison's *Mythology and Monuments*, though published respectively in 1898 and 1890 are still absolutely indispensable. Both are based on the text of Pausanias and it will be apparent how constantly Pausanias has continued to be used in the following pages.

This book is the ultimate result of an invitation from the Jane Harrison Memorial Committee of Newnham College to prepare a new edition of *Mythology and Monuments*. It was ready in 1938, but before arrangements for its publication could be completed the war intervened and after the war the Committee decided to abandon its share in the project. Thanks to the interest of some members of the Committee, particularly Mrs. Hugh Stewart and Professor A. W. Lawrence, I entered into an agreement with Messrs. Methuen and Company to write an entirely new book on Athens. It is concerned chiefly with topography and architecture and strays into the enticing byways of literature, history, religion, mythology and the arts only to illustrate and supplement the main line of pursuit.

One result of the last fifty years of discoveries has been to change the entire perspective for Greek art and history and their relation to what immediately preceded them. The old books used to speak with wonder of "the miracle of Greek art", but though perhaps we cannot entirely explain it we can at least trace out certain roots in its ancestry and can learn something of what the pre-Hellenic civilisation passed on to its successors. The continuity from one phase (period is perhaps too positive a term) to another has been suggested in the introductory chapter and this persistence will be emphasised again and again in the later ones.

In any book about Greece no compromise adopted for the spelling of proper names and places is ever satisfactory to everyone. Well known names like Acropolis or Thucydides retain their familiar Latinised spelling, but for one who has lived long in Greece it has often been more natural in many cases to adopt the local versions.

It is impossible to give the long list of those who have helped me in the preparation of this book. The Greek Archaeological Service and the Foreign Schools in Athens have all been most generous in allowing access to their material, often before its official publication. Special thanks are due to Drs. Karo, Kraiker and Kübler of the German Archaeological Institute, the last of whom was always ready to conduct us about the excavations in progress in the Kerameikos.

My debt to the late Professor T. Leslie Shear, Field Director of the excavations in the Agora, and to his successor Professor Homer A. Thompson is too great for adequate acknowledgement. All those connected with the excavations have been most generous in putting their material at my disposal and most patient in answering innumerable questions, very specially Miss Alison Frantz, Miss Lucy Talcott and Mr. John Travlos who have provided many of the illustrations and plans, most of which have appeared also in *Hesperia*, though Mr. Travlos kindly made a special plan combining two of them, shown in Figure 3.

I am also much indebted to that benevolent triumvirate, Dr. B. H. Hill, Mr. G. P. Stevens and Professor W. B. Dinsmoor for assistance in the interpretation of their researches on the Acropolis and elsewhere. I have spent many hours on the spot in the company of Messrs. Hill and Stevens, who have also read the relevant chapters, and my debt to Mr. Dinsmoor's published articles is obvious from many references to them in the footnotes.

For their unfailing interest and co-operation I am deeply grateful to Dr. J. L. Caskey, the Director of the American School of Classical Studies, in the library of which much of this book has been written, to Mrs. Caskey and also to Mrs. Dervys who typed all my manuscript. Mrs. Blegen has read the proofs and made many invaluable suggestions which I have gratefully adopted.

My thanks are due to the Oxford University Press for permission to use several illustrations from the late Professor Pickard-Cambridge's *The Theatre of Dionysos in Athens* and again to Mr. Stevens for permission to use Plate I (taken for him) as well as Plate II and Figures 22 and 29 from his own restorations.

I. T. H.

Athens

January, 1953

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CHAPTER I

Introduction—Brief Account of the Expansion of Athens

MANY others in ancient and modern times have written of the glories of Athens "the eye of Greece, mother of arts", of her history, her art and her literature; here some attempt will be made to summarise the results of recent excavations and discoveries which have supplemented our former knowledge of her monuments, or which have revealed unsuspected remnants of antiquity and thereby have revolutionised many of our ideas of Athenian topography.

Before examining these in detail it may be as well to give a brief résumé of the growth of Athens and its gradual spread from its original nucleus the Acropolis to the widely extended city of Hadrian, commemorated on one side of the Arch of Hadrian which divided the city of his time from "the city of Theseus".

The city of Theseus, which politically combined the demes of Attica into a unit and geographically included the Acropolis and the surrounding area, is one of the earliest for which we have literary evidence, but we know that there were habitations of some sort even before the Acropolis definitely became the "city" or *polis*.

The importance of the Acropolis is an obvious result of the position of the great rock which dominates not only the surrounding town but the plain of Attica bounded by its triad of mountains, Hymettos, Pentelikon and Parnes. Even when one is on the mountain slopes and the Acropolis is literally many metres below one, it stands out as the landmark and the magnet to which one's eyes instinctively turn. From the side of the sea, whether one approaches from Peiraeus or Phaleron, or looks from one of the promontories along the coast, it stands dominating the landscape, backed by its distant ring of mountains; from the land, whether one is close below its formidable crags—accessible easily only from the western side—or a little farther away looking at its imposing bulk standing guard over its surroundings, or out at many points in the plain, often on the sites of ancient villages, one can understand how the men of the demes naturally felt themselves a part of the city which was always before their eyes.

The dominating landmark of the Acropolis is familiar to most of us as the Rock of Athene, the great sanctuary with the Parthenon gleaming in the distance, but though perhaps less spectacular in the days when it was a fortress it must have stood out as a mighty refuge to which one could flee for protection in time of danger. This fortress, like its contemporaries at Mycenae and Tiryns, belonged to the close

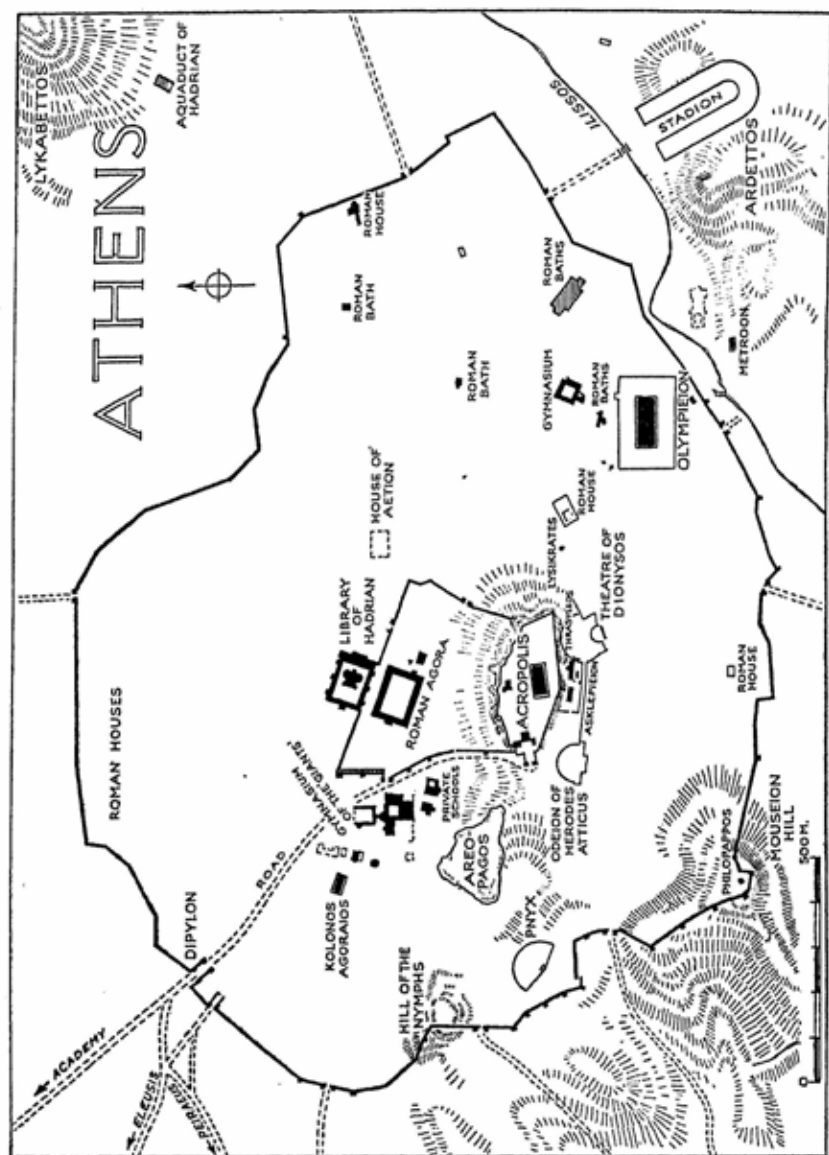


Fig. 1. General Plan of Athens in the Fifth Century A.D.

of the Bronze Age, but there are evidences of earlier occupation on the Rock itself, on its slopes and even in the lower ground later to become the Agora and the Academy.

As early as the close of the Stone Age there had been settlers in Athens, but it is impossible to determine how extensive the settlements may have been. On the South Slope traces of a Neolithic house and accompanying pottery were found by the Italians at a point west of the Asklepion and in a cave or rock-shelter high above and just west of the Theatre of Dionysos a considerable quantity of painted polychrome Neolithic ware has been discovered.¹ The South Slope has not been thoroughly investigated down to bed rock but on the North Slope certain areas have been carefully dug and have brought to light a great quantity of pottery. North of the Precinct of Eros a study of the stratification in an area about 6·80 m. by 2·50 m. to 3·50 m. in extent and 2·25 m. deep produced Neolithic and later wares and farther west near the Fountain of Klepsydra some twenty or more wells were dug out and furnished a large amount of all the typical Neolithic styles. At several places in the Agora beautiful examples of red and grey burnished pottery of the Neolithic period have come to light.² Wares less striking than the polychrome and the well-burnished are unlikely to have attracted the attention or interest of early excavators who had slight knowledge of the prehistoric periods and consequently much useful material has doubtless been discarded or lost, though now every scrap is treasured.

When we come to the Bronze Age we are on firmer ground and have a generous amount of evidence from which to build up a picture. The Bronze Age known on the Greek mainland as Helladic—Early, Middle and Late (Mycenaean), and in Crete as Minoan—Early, Middle and Late, follows after the Neolithic by easy transition and evolves in unbroken continuity from beginning to end.³

It was in the Late Helladic period that Athens, like Mycenae and Tiryns, had its great fortress on an acropolis. Earlier remains exist at all the big Late Helladic sites, but the climax was reached just before the period of the Iron Age invasions against which strong fortifications were built, sometimes in vain as at Mycenae and Tiryns, but sometimes more successfully as at Athens which was to a considerable degree by-passed by the invading hordes in favour of the more famous and presumably richer Peloponnesian cities. The fortress-city and its successor will be described later. Here we must note some of the earlier remains of the Bronze Age that show the spread and development of civilisation in the area surrounding the Acropolis and in the Agora and some of the outlying suburbs beyond the town itself.

For the Early Helladic period there are evidences of occupation to the north of the Acropolis but of the south side we know less, chiefly because no recent excavations have been made there and the earlier

ones were concerned with the classical period and have kept no records of pre-historic material.

At several points along the North Slope and in the Agora Early Helladic remains were found, often in the same places as the Neolithic pottery already noted.⁴

By the Middle Helladic period the remains become more plentiful and the two typical classes of pottery—the Matt-painted (either dark-on-light or light-on-dark) and the polished Minyan, which is generally grey or yellow or sometimes reddish—have been found on the Acropolis itself, under the paved area to the east of the North Porch of the Erechtheion, as well as on the North Slope, the Areopagus and the Agora. A little farther afield, on the site of Plato's Academy, there apparently was a Middle Helladic settlement.⁵ In fact there were several of them scattered about the province of Attica.

The Late Helladic period was a time of great expansion, probably new elements were introduced into the population, contact with the outer world, especially the Minoan civilisation, increased and throughout its long extent it spread widely over Attica as well as in Athens itself.⁶

Judging from the remains on the North Slope, the Areopagus, the Hill of the Muses, the Agora, Dipylon and Academy, there were little groups of settlers within easy reach of the fortress refuge. Particularly important are the remains of a late Helladic III settlement on the North Slope of the Acropolis just below the old postern stair and gate, the subterranean fountain with a secret staircase leading down from just northwest of the Erechtheion, and the richly furnished chamber tombs on the north side of the Areopagus.⁷ These all belong to the close of the Bronze Age.

The transition to the Early Iron Age or the Geometric period is best traced in the pottery known as Submycenaean and Protogeometric, both of which exist in profusion in the Dipylon-Kerameikos area and are found in the Agora and on the north and northwest slopes of the Areopagus where the Geometric period itself is richly illustrated from its beginning to its end. The discoveries in the Kerameikos are almost exclusively from tombs, those in the Agora and vicinity are not only from tombs—one large family cemetery is southeast of the later Tholos—but from wells, and there is even an elliptical house on the Areopagus.⁸ Few remains are left of any settlements, but the general expansion northwestwards in the direction of the Agora and the Dipylon seems well established as early as the Geometric period and these districts thereafter figured more and more prominently in the spread and development of Athens.

Fairly early the line seems to have been drawn between the Inner Kerameikos, which included the later Agora and the potters' and smiths' quarters beside it, and the Outer Kerameikos which always was

a burial place from Submycenaean times onward and became the great public Cemetery *par excellence* with the tombs of those who had fallen in battle or served the state with distinction in other ways.

Few burials later than the seventh century B.C. have been found within the inner area; evidently by the late seventh and early sixth centuries the district of the Agora was being devoted to public uses and becoming the centre of civic life, as it continued to be thereafter. The excavations have shown that the well known stoas, temples and meeting places which belonged to the fifth century or later, had in many cases replaced earlier buildings, and that the principal roads and the Great Drain to carry off the water that rushed down from the slopes of the Acropolis and Arcopagus had been constructed at least as early as the sixth century.

At the beginning of the fifth century the growing city was enclosed by a strong wall. Thucydides's account⁹ of how in the days of Themistokles the wall was hastily constructed or repaired by utilising all sorts of scraps, including pieces of earlier buildings, grave stelai, theatre seats and sculptures some of which can be seen to this day, shows what could be done in an emergency.

How extensive a circuit wall existed before this is a disputed question. Dörpfeld, among others, thought the Acropolis fortification with the Pelargikon was the only wall in Athens before that of Themistokles, but this view is hardly tenable in the face of general probability, the nature of the flattish terrain below the Acropolis, and the literary evidence, especially of Thucydides and Herodotos. Thucydides says that after the Persian War nearly all the old walls and houses had been destroyed and he not only uses the word for rebuilding when describing the activity of Themistokles but also says the new circuit was larger than the old in every direction. The word "wheel-shaped", used to characterise the earlier city, suggests a city enclosed by a circular wall, with the Acropolis as the nave of the wheel. As to its course, there are few if any pieces of wall that can be definitely assigned to it, but there are indications of an early wall or gate below the Arch of Hadrian, and occasional stretches of wall have been found in the centre of the modern town. The discovery of a cemetery on the site of the former Royal Stables in Churchill Street suggests that the boundary line must have been close by, for from the sixth century onwards no burials were allowed within the city itself.¹⁰

There are sufficient remains of the Themistoklean wall and its fifth and fourth century successors for its course to be traced at the Dipylon, on the Pnyx and Mouseion hills and elsewhere, and often the remains of gates can still be identified. As far as we can judge, the circuit of the city remained the same for many centuries and it was not until the time of Hadrian that the large additional district to the east was developed. This, as may be seen from such remains as the Temple of

Olympian Zeus, the Stadion, baths and villas (in the Royal Gardens and elsewhere), became an important and fashionable quarter.

Meanwhile certain changes and expansions had taken place within the Themistoklean circuit. The classical Greek Agora spread in Hellenistic times farther to the east and in Augustan and later Roman



Fig. 2. The Agora and its Environs in the Second Century A.D.

times extended northwards and eastwards where the most important buildings are the Roman Market, the Library of Hadrian, and the Tower of the Winds.

Portions of the Roman Agora had been cleared by Greek archaeologists but in the Greek Agora little had been done except in a few

spots, for example below Kolonos Agoraios east of the Hephaisteion where Dr. Dörpfeld had found a building he identified as the Royal Colonnade,¹¹ at the Stoa of Attalos and at the "Stoa of the Giants", but in 1930 an agreement was made by which the zone including the Roman Agora should be further excavated by the Greeks, while the Greek Agora was to be the field of the American excavations.

These have expanded southwards to include parts of the north slopes of the Acropolis and the Areopagus and meanwhile the researches and detailed studies of other scholars both Greek and foreign have added many new points about the topography and the chronological development of Athens.

CHAPTER II

The Bronze Age—The Fortress City

THE long and apparently uninterrupted occupation of Athens from the Stone Age to the present day reached its first great climax towards the end of the Bronze Age (Late Helladic III) when the Acropolis was a strongly fortified citadel. The characteristic features of such settlements—as for example at Mycenae and Tiryns—were a strong natural site, surrounded by a massive wall and well-fortified gate, occupied to a large extent by the palace of the king or chieftain, with a settlement outside the walls on the lower ground generally connected by a postern gate and with the royal tombs not far distant in the slope of a neighbouring hill.

At its highest point the Acropolis rock rises some 156 m. above sea-level and about half as much above its immediate surroundings. Its natural area was of course considerably smaller than after the building of the South (Kimonian) wall which supported one or more terraces to the South of the Parthenon and gave a more table-like upper surface to the whole Acropolis.

The early walls have been discussed so often that they need be only very briefly described here. The first identifiable piece to be seen by one ascending the Acropolis lies under the bastion that supports the Temple of Athene Niké. Some blocks on the north and west faces of the bastion have been removed so that the ancient fragments may be seen. They must have belonged to a bastion of the Mycenaean fortress flanking the south side of the passageway to the entrance gate. This we can reconstruct in imagination as similar to the Lions' Gate at Mycenae which is defended in the same way by a stout projecting spur wall on the side.¹

Next is a large piece of wall which runs for more than 15 m. in a southwesterly direction from the South-East Hall of the Propylaea to the edge of the rock where it turns eastward to form the southern boundary line. This wall, some 6 m. thick and still standing in one place to a height of 4·54 m. above the rock, though once higher, is built of large undressed stones laid up in more or less regular courses with a filling of rubble in the centre in the style generally known as "Cyclopean" and connected with the early myths of the building of this wall by Cyclops the giant under the direction of Athene herself.

On the southern edge of the Acropolis the wall can be followed for only a short distance where few but significant remains of walls and pottery, some of it of Mycenaean date, have been found under the

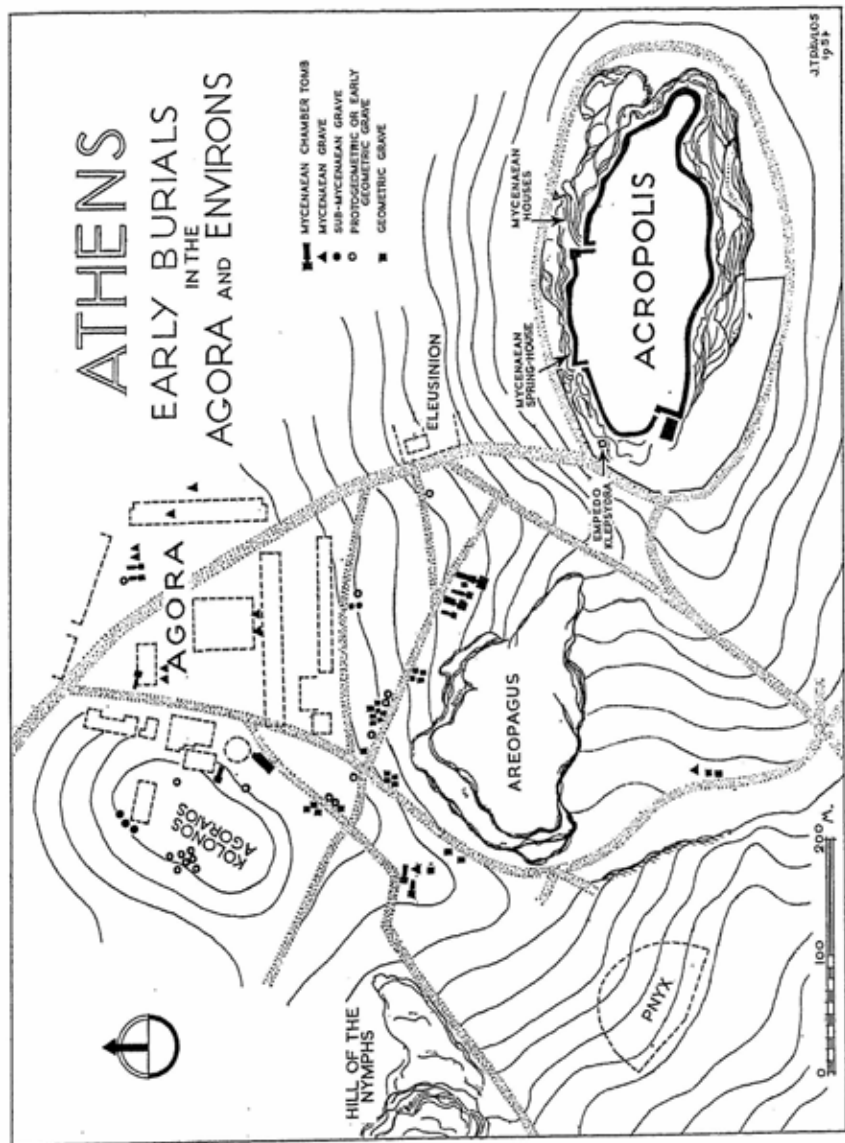


Fig. 3. Early Burials in the Agora and its Environs

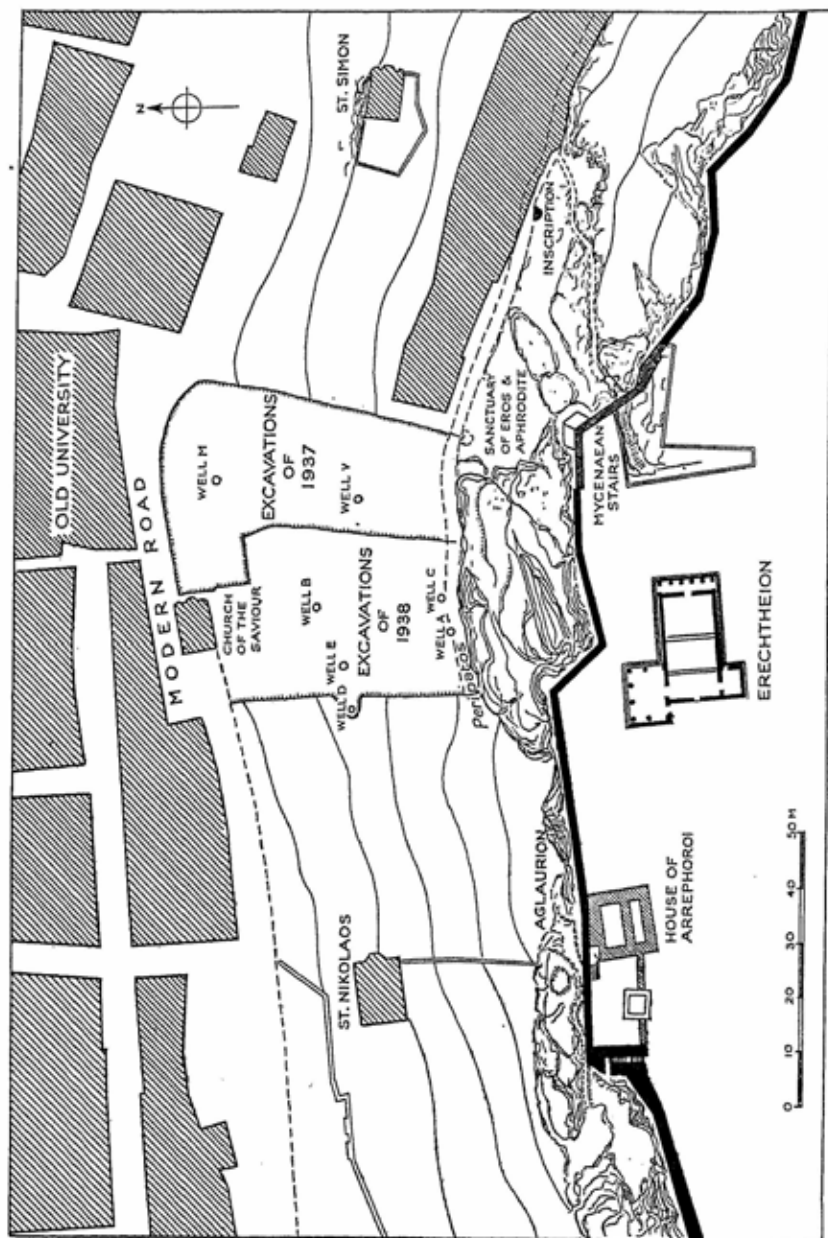


Fig. 4. Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis

northeastern part of the Chalkotheke. The next important remains lie deep down to the southwest of the foundations of the Parthenon. A large opening has been left in the later filling through which there is access for closer examination. From the early level of the prehistoric wall steps lead up to a higher terrace made during the work south of the Parthenon in the fifth century B.C.²

Farther to the east the slope of the rock rises and a large piece of the wall is visible near the old annex to the Museum.

Beyond here, along the east and north sides of the Acropolis the remains of the circuit wall have been practically all obliterated by later walls built in the same position, notably the "Wall of Themistokles", and also by necessary repairs and reinforcements in modern times.

Two outstanding features on the north side are the stairway leading to the postern gate and the secret passage and stairs leading to the Mycenaean water system and reservoir below.

East of the Erechtheion a flight of steps, partly cut in the rock and partly of unhewn stones, runs steeply down in a natural cleft of the rock for some 15 m. to the point where it is blocked by the modern wall and where it is generally agreed that there was once a postern gate in Mycenaean times, of which all remains were destroyed when the later Greek wall was built.

Excavations outside the wall in 1931 and 1932 revealed a short flight of four steps and a ramp down to eight more steps which had once been part of the staircase. All were covered with an undisturbed deposit of Mycenaean date and apparently had been abandoned ever since that time. In clearing the deposit two house floors were found, one of which had a few wall stones on its south side and a flat stone apparently for the base of a wooden column; the abundant remains of pottery on both floors showed that the houses were hastily abandoned and probably the inhabitants took refuge in the fortified Acropolis. Although pits dug through the floors contained pottery of as early a date as Early Helladic and Middle Helladic, nothing of a later date than Late Helladic III came from the surface of the floors. This indicates that the postern entrance went out of use in Late Helladic III when the extant fortifications were constructed.³

East and north of the Erechtheion a large number of pieces of Mycenaean walls were found during the Greek excavations of 1886-7 which cleared the Acropolis down to bed rock. They were carefully drawn in detail on the Kavvadias-Kawerau Plans of the Acropolis but most of them were covered again and now lie some distance below the ground level. In the light of present evidence it is very difficult to distinguish between the periods of building—no careful record of the sherds in the wall-cracks has been kept—and though by analogy with Mycenae and Tiryns we may assume that the fortifications we now see did not belong to the earliest system of defences, the area has been too

thoroughly cleared for us to expect to find many survivals of an earlier stronghold.

Professor L. B. Holland has concluded that some of the walls north of the northeast corner of the Erechtheion belonged to a tower which once defended the top of the postern stairs but was abandoned in the latest period of fortifications.⁴

In the western part of the clifflike north slope of the Acropolis known as the Long Rocks are four caves from the easternmost of which an underground passage, 35 m. long and from 1 m.—3 m. wide, runs between the face of the Acropolis and a huge boulder that has broken away from it, to the Cave of Agraulos and the adjacent *temenos* to which two maidens called *Arrephoroi* carried mysterious burdens down the secret passage once a year.

At the northwest corner of the building identified as the *Arrephorion*⁵ on the Acropolis a modern flight of five steps (replacing the ancient descent) leads eastward to where the Acropolis wall runs above the underground passage. Access to the five surviving mediaeval stairs some 6·50 m. below and outside the wall was probably by means of a wooden ladder.

The Long Rocks were explored by Kavvadias in 1897⁶ and the underground passage and the steps inside and outside the Acropolis wall were known to him, as they must have been to the generations who have used the passage in the course of centuries. A wall, probably built in late Turkish times, which blocked the entrance to the cave of Agraulos from below was removed, but no further investigations took place for about half a century when, as a result of discoveries on the North Slope—such as the Mycenaean settlement and the Precinct of Eros—the clearing out of the passage was undertaken in the hope of discovering objects that might in the course of ages have been thrown down into it from the Acropolis.⁷

The explorations, carried out in the face of almost unsurmountable difficulties in a dark narrow tunnel threatened with danger from falling rocks, resulted not only in finding traces of two flights of ancient steps leading down to the cave, but in the unexpected discovery of half a dozen zigzag flights down from the cave in a cleft ca. 120·50 m. long and 2 m. wide, sloping to the north at an angle of 35°, to a prehistoric reservoir and spring which was to furnish the Acropolis with water in time of siege, a precaution taken also in the fortresses of Mycenae and Tiryns.

Cut in the southern face of the rock, beside and above the mediaeval steps, are holes for the ends of the wooden beams of the upper staircase. There were twenty-five steps in the first flight and forty in the lower, arranged in a long hairpin bend and ending at the cave. Here it had been possible to use timbers for the stairs, as there was enough ventilation to keep them fairly dry, but for the lower staircase conditions were much too damp for anything but stone slabs.⁸

Excavating this staircase involved the use of pumps to cope with the constant flow of water from below, in addition to the difficulties mentioned above. Many of the steps of the staircase had collapsed and the work was carried out slowly and with great care, and many steps were put back in place. They were of greyish marble set in yellow clay. There were six short flights of steps with landings between leading down to a once circular shaft in the rock which opened into a reservoir *ca.* 4 m. in diameter with a deep pit in the centre. From the bottom of Flight VIII there is a drop of *ca.* 8 m. to water level in the reservoir which may have been reached by moveable steps or more probably by a rope to draw water out in jars.

The method of supporting the stone steps called for much ingenuity and apparently consisted of setting them on a bed of rubble held in place by upright wooden beams for which there are many holes, with cross beams socketed into them to form a framework. In course of time the wood decayed and the stairs collapsed.⁹ It is obvious that such an arduous undertaking as the construction of this staircase and reservoir can have been the result only of extreme necessity to provide for emergencies.

The deposits of pottery show that they must have been built in the latter half of the thirteenth century B.C. at the time when many invasions were taking place and when Tiryns and Mycenae also strengthened their defences, but the pottery indicates also that the reservoir can have been in use for only a short time—perhaps twenty-five years or so—as there is practically none of post-Mycenaean date.¹⁰

The abandoned lower passage evidently got filled up in the course of ages and it was only the two upper flights into the cave that were in use for the progress of the Arrephoroi, while the very existence of the lower flights was unsuspected until a few years ago.

The dominant feature inside the strong enclosure of the Acropolis was the palace of the ruler, "the strong house of Erechtheus" as Homer calls it, which is generally believed to have occupied the north side of the Acropolis in part at least where the old Temple of Athene and the Erechtheion now stand. Very little is left but it may safely be assumed that it was a typical Mycenaean palace with inner and outer courts, a large megaron and many smaller rooms connected by means of corridors.

The exact extent of the palace is unknown. Mr. Stevens believes that a shallow trench varying in width from 1.50 m. to 2.40 m. cut in the rock and running northwards from the Propylon of the Parthenon to west of the Erechtheion was intended for a terrace wall which can have been only of Mycenaean date and would have formed the western boundary of the palace.¹¹

The generally accepted opinion is that the megaron occupied part of the site where later the Old Temple was built. This was by far the

most suitable position and the discovery of two Mycenaean column bases here added to the probability.

On the maps of Kavvadias and Dörpfeld the remains of walls are indicated in several places: two in the east peristyle, two in the northern small central room, two in the southern small central room, two in the rear portico and four or five in the western cella.¹² These are all marked as rubble walls (*i.e.* not classical) but much difference of opinion prevails as to whether they were Mycenaean or mediaeval, or some of each date.

There is no doubt of the antiquity of the two bases, of the typical Mycenaean style for the support of wooden columns which could belong to a megaron, a propylon or a colonnaded court but the probability is all in favour of the megaron. Although according to Professor Holland there are six possible restorations of a megaron (using these columns as belonging to major or minor axis and varying the orientation to correspond) his suggested restoration facing east and occupying the northeast part of the area of the Old Temple is most likely. The columns would be the eastern pair in the megaron proper, to the east of which would lie the customary anteroom and portico.

Presumably there would have been a good-sized open court extending still farther east. An interesting reconstruction of the court utilising some early terrace walls has been proposed on the basis of similar features at Tiryns and Mycenae, but the existing evidence is scarcely sufficient to prove it, though it certainly lies within the bounds of reasonable probability.¹³

Remains of a Mycenaean wall have been identified under the poros foundations of the north wall of the Erechtheion. Three stones are east of the ikonostasis of the church that was built inside the Erechtheion, two in the central part of the north wall, one on each side of the post-Erechtheion limestone pier near the western end and eight others under the pier. Many Late Helladic III fragments were found in the earth between the stones. The wall extended at least from 1 m. east of the door of the crypt as far as the east wall of the Erechtheion. Another stone on the line of the east cross-wall and still another east of the west cross-wall are probably of the same period.

There are two stones *in situ* near the west wall of the Erechtheion just north of the entrance to the Porch of the Maidens. The marble sill of the door is at present supported by a modern pier of poros and a stout pier of mediaeval masonry immediately to the north of which are the two stones that lie in a curious relation to the poros foundations of the Erechtheion, which avoided disturbing them.¹⁴

This spot is within the area of the tomb and precinct of Kekrops which was considered too sacred to be built upon even as late as the time when the builders of the Erechtheion bridged over the vacant place with the huge epistyle block still to be seen in the west wall. The

cult of Kekrops was but one of several which may help explain the extraordinary form of the Erechtheion and the obvious desire to preserve old worships in their own small temene. There never was an earlier Erechtheion on the site of the present one, the dual nature of which may best be explained as a wish to continue the cults of the old pre-Hellenic days along with that of Athene who became the guardian deity of her City. No section of the Acropolis is more reminiscent of the early days, whether we are concerned with ancient kings like Kekrops or Erechtheus (sometimes doubled in myth with the Greek Poseidon) and princesses like Pandrosos, or with very ancient portents such as the thunderbolt of Zeus or the salt spring of Poseidon. All these cults survived and were commemorated in one part or another of the Erechtheion or its immediate vicinity.

Towards the northern part of the paved court of the Erechtheion and east of the North Porch is a prehistoric wall running east and west that was recorded on the Kavvadias plans and left visible. Re-excavation in 1923 showed not only a return to the north at the western end as indicated on the plan but one at the eastern end under the later steps. The wall has two or three courses standing, is 0.75 m. wide and extends *ca.* 30 m. Remains of a hard packed floor of white clay *ca.* 0.25 m. thick north of it suggest that the wall belonged to a house. The pottery fragments included one small scrap of Early Helladic, some Middle Helladic matt-painted, grey Minyan and yellow Minyan, but most of it was a smooth polished ware similar to yellow Minyan but salmon-red in colour, characteristic of Late Helladic I and II. Since nothing of later date was found, it is supposed that the house was abandoned, perhaps at the time the tower was destroyed and the circuit enlarged.

It is not unlikely that an open court of the palace similar to the theatral areas at Knossos and Phaistos once occupied the site of this paved court of the Erechtheion, which was itself bordered by steps that could serve as seats from which to watch dances or other rites.¹⁵

As was to be expected, a fair quantity—some two hundred items—of Late Helladic pottery as well as about thirty fragments of earlier monochrome and matt-painted Middle Helladic wares was found on the Acropolis. The latter half of late Helladic III is much more largely represented than the earlier.

Unfortunately the records about its provenance are very inadequate. A certain amount was found in the lowest stratum of the fill south of the Parthenon, some came from east of the Parthenon and north of the Museum when the latter was being built, some from west of the Parthenon and some from north of the Erechtheion. No Submycenaean or Protogeometric wares are recorded, but at the time of the excavations in the 1880's nothing but Mycenaean and Geometric of which there

were about one hundred examples (chiefly sherds), had been studied and placed in any chronological relationship.¹⁶

Before we leave the Acropolis something should be said about the Pelasgikon or Pelargikon; both words are used, the former referring to the Pelasgians who were reputed to have built the walls, the latter to the *pelargoi* or storks who apparently frequented the place in ancient times though they seldom venture so far south now-a-days.

One regularly accepted meaning of Pelargikon is the citadel itself, the other refers to an area immediately below it. Opinions differ as to its extent and antiquity. Some think it formed a sort of lower fortification or defence for the Acropolis, and the occasional discovery of remains of Mycenaean walls more substantial than the usual house walls might support this possibility, but the many regulations and taboos forbidding the occupation of the Pelargikon which eventually were enforced by means of actual laws, are a clear indication that no walls of a military nature can have existed in historical times.¹⁷

We must now turn to remains outside the Acropolis and see what is left of the Late Helladic period in the close vicinity. Within the past few years several tombs belonging to the Late Helladic III Acropolis have been found close at hand to the northwest. They were not large domed tholoi ("beehives") like those at Mycenae, Dendra, the Heraion and other sites in the Argolid, but rock-cut chamber tombs. This was not because the people of Attica were ignorant of the method of building tholoi; the tombs at Menidi, Thorikos and Marathon are instances to the contrary, but because the soft rocky character of the terrain north of the Acropolis and Areopagus encouraged the construction of tombs cut directly out of the rock and avoided the necessity of the slow building, stone upon stone, of a tholos. We should remember too that both tradition and archaeology indicate that Athens was late in reaching the climax of her wealth and power and that it may have been her relative unimportance that led to the preservation of the citadel of the Acropolis at the time when great Mycenae was reduced to ruins, though a lover of Athens likes to believe that the courage of her inhabitants also had something to do with it.

The first and finest of the tombs was found in 1939 on the northeast slope of the Areopagus in a very ruinous condition, as the roof had collapsed, much debris of all periods had collected and a large cesspool had been cut into it. A dromos 2 m. wide at the bottom and 1.50 m. at the top, of which 11 m. length was preserved, led in a southwestern direction to the doorway which had been closed by a wall of stones 1.40 m. thick and 1.20 m. wide.

The rectangular chamber tomb measured 5.90 m. \times 4.30 m. and was 2.75 m. at its highest point. A rock-cut bench 0.75 m. wide and 0.60 m. high ran along the side walls and at the southwest corner of its floor was a rock-cut cist 1.80 m. \times 0.60 m. \times 1.20 m. deep,

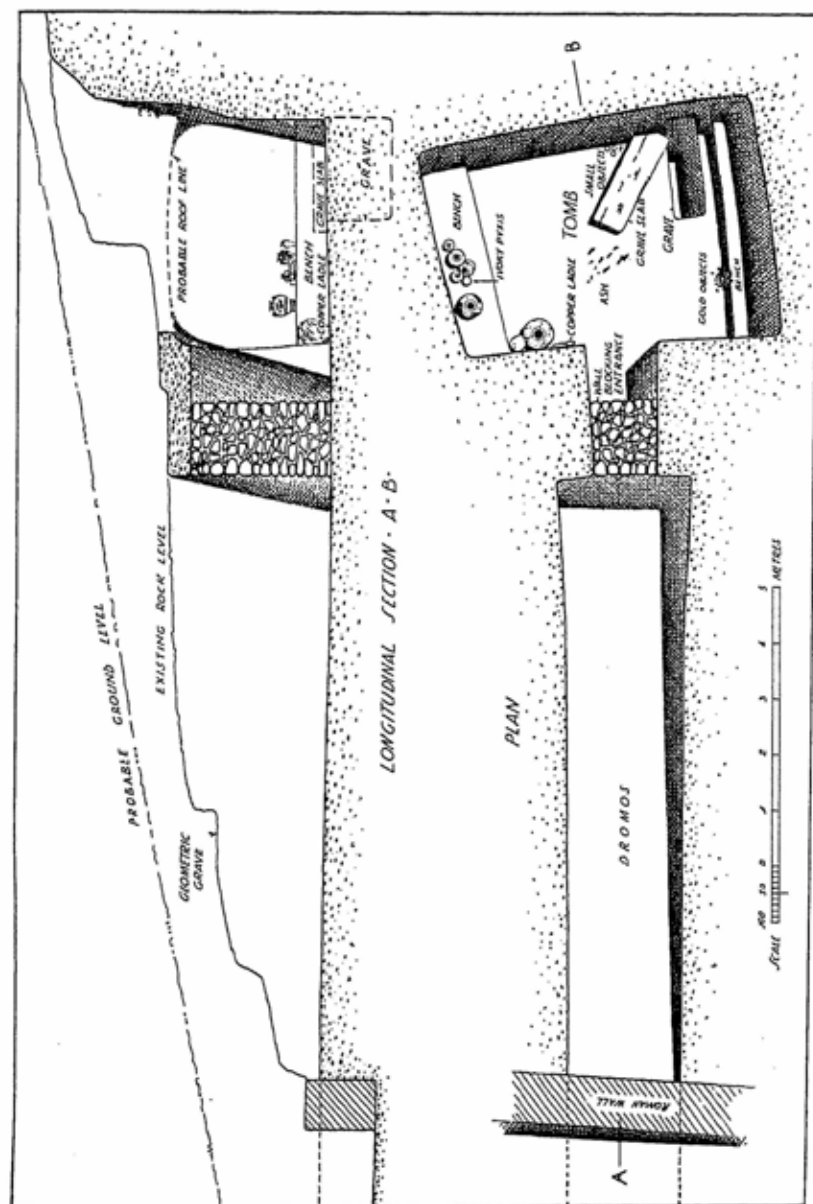


Fig. 5. Plan and Section of Late Helladic Tomb

covered by a stone slab. No human remains were found in the tomb but on the north end of the east bench there stood six vases and a cylindrical box of ivory. The pottery consisted of three fine typical amphorai, one spouted jug, and two aryballoi, all of Late Helladic III ware. Two other amphorai were found on the floor with a copper ladle 0.41 m. long and a bowl 0.16 m. in diameter.

The most impressive single object was the ivory pyxis 0.112 m. in diameter, with an exterior height of 0.16 m., including the lid and a thick extra bottom, and covered with designs in relief. The surface of the knob handles was skillfully utilised to represent a fawn in twisted position on one and a crouching lion on the other. The lid showed a griffin of winged Mycenaean type attacking two deer and the sides had combat scenes with two griffins and four deer. The composition and execution are both exceedingly skilful. The upper and lower mouldings of the pyxis and the edges of the lid and false bottom are decorated with wavy lines in chevron pattern.

Another ivory toilet box was found on the floor and though only 0.05 m. high is no less successfully decorated with a design of nautilus and shells. Ivory pins and two large bars with hinged clasps suggest that the grave was that of a woman. The excavators suggested that a tomb so royal in character might well belong to the wife or daughter of King Erechtheus. Nearly one hundred objects of thin gold include the familiar "waz-lily" design, rosettes of two sizes and plain discs. About twenty small fragments of gold were also found.

The scant remains of another rock-cut tomb with dromos were found 13 m. west of this one. It was originally *ca.* 3 m. in diameter with a cist-grave in the floor but was destroyed by a Roman drain and a modern cesspool so that little is left.¹⁸

A second pair of chamber tombs was discovered in 1947, forming with the other two an irregular row some 32 m. long that followed the contours of the hill. The larger of these had a roughly rectangular chamber measuring 4.65 m. \times 2.85 m., a dromos 2 m. in width and preserved to a length of 3.80 m., sloping down to a door 0.85 m. wide which was closed by a wall of rough stones and clay. The walls of the chamber and dromos still stand about 1.60 m. high. The site had been much used in Hellenistic, Roman and modern times but the collapsed roof had preserved the ancient interior.

There were three burials in the tomb. The bones of the first one (A) were in a heap at the western part of the tomb but the skeletons of the other two were found stretched at full length with arms folded across the abdomen, that of a woman (B) along the south side and that of a man (C) along the east side. Three shattered vases (an amphora, a ewer and a small jar) were found beside burial A and three more (two kylikes and a bowl) in a compact heap near by. This apparently was an earlier burial than the others and the second group of vases

may have been a supplementary offering. Near burial B were four kylikes and three bowls and near C the most costly offerings: one long and one short sword, a cleaver and a bowl, all of bronze, which had probably been placed on a table whose existence is suggested by the stain of decayed wood and by the blue pigment with which it had been painted. The long sword was a rapier of the horned type 0.74 m. long, whose hilt-plates, presumably of wood, were held by gold headed rivets and a small hoop of thin gold found beside the sword probably decorated the hilt. The shorter sword *ca.* 0.50 m. long is similar in style and the heavy cleaver was tanged for a wooden handle. The bowl was badly crumpled and oxidised but appears to have had only one handle.

Near the middle of the floor and probably connected with burial B were nine conical pierced buttons of steatite, a large amphora and a "pilgrim's flask". Thirty-eight rosettes of thin gold were found, all but six of them in a compact group near the feet of burial C.

The pottery of all three burials is consistent in date and contemporary with that found in the large tomb of 1939, though less fine in quality and less pretentious. The pilgrim flask is very like one from El Amarna that may be dated in the second quarter of the fourteenth century B.C., *i.e.* Late Helladic III, but distinctly earlier than the pottery associated with the hasty abandonment of the Mycenaean well-house and postern, and doubtless belongs to a time of greater security.¹⁹

The smaller tomb found the same season 2 m. west of the larger had a rectangular chamber 1.60 m. \times 2.80 m. and was approached by a dromos, but much has been cut away for the basements of modern houses. The upper part of the skeleton of a youth lay on the floor with head to the south. Many bones lay heaped at east and west and in a shallow pit in the southwest corner. Four skulls in addition to the skeleton were found. The surviving pottery consisted of only a few fragments of plain bowls and kylikes like those in the larger tomb.²⁰

In addition to the group of four tombs on the Areopagus one complete and one incomplete Late Helladic III tomb were found on the other side of the valley at the northeast foot of the Hill of the Nymphs in a region always much disturbed by the building of drains and house foundations. The complete tomb, with burial intact, had a small rectangular chamber 1.80 m. \times 2.30 m., a dromos 1.10 m. wide, narrowing to 0.92 m. at the entrance that led from the east. For the first half metre or so the chamber had been cut from bed rock and above this it was scooped out of the brown, compact gravelly earth. It is not surprising that the ceiling had collapsed in antiquity. Two skeletons were lying on the floor, with heads towards the east and the legs bent under, and the bones of one or two earlier interments were found in corners or in a cist cut in the floor. Six nearly complete pots—including an askos, a handled cup, a three-handled jar and a stirrup

vase—and fragments of two more were found. This was a more modest tomb than those on the Areopagus but contemporary in date.

About 12 m. southwest of this tomb an unfinished tomb with dromos 0.80 m. wide and a preserved length of 2 m. led down from the east to a roughly circular chamber 1.20 m. in diameter and a "side-chamber" 1.20 m. \times 0.85 m. The ceiling of the chamber had collapsed in antiquity, though those of the dromos and side chamber are still intact, and the filling yielded only some Roman sherds.²¹

This completes the list of Late Helladic III chamber tombs found here up to the present; nevertheless, the large quantity of pottery found in less pretentious graves, in wells and in surface discoveries indicate that a considerable population must have occupied the vicinity of the Acropolis although, so far, the only remains of houses are those already mentioned at the foot of the postern stairs. Further excavations along the outer steps to the postern and trial pits higher up the slope towards the east disclosed more traces of house floors and walls too insignificant to indicate any plans of the houses themselves. The plentiful remains of Mycenaean pottery all along the North Slope suggests that one or more small settlements were situated here.²²

It is impossible to say whether there were once small groups of houses in other parts of the present Athens such as the Agora, Dipylon or West Slope of the Acropolis, in all of which places Mycenaean graves or remains have been found.

In the Agora one grave containing three skeletons, parts of five Late Helladic III vases and a signet ring of gold engraved with a cult scene representing one man and two women, was found below the hill of Kolonos Agoraios east of the Temple of Apollo. Two others were found north of the Middle Stoa, two immediately south of the Odeion, one northwest of it, and two chamber-tombs of considerable size north of the Temple of Ares as well as smaller finds of pottery in many places indicate that the Agora was once the site of a Mycenaean cemetery.²³

Two Mycenaean graves were reported by Dörpfeld from the area between the Acropolis and the Pnyx,²⁴ a section which has been very inadequately explored but which in its lower parts at least is known to have been largely residential in later times.

A rich grave, apparently Late Helladic II, was found by chance during digging for house foundations on the south side of Philopappos Hill. It was at once destroyed, no record was kept of the contents, most of which have disappeared, but it is known to have included many thin gold rosettes like those in the Mycenaean Shaft Graves, some gold beads from a necklace, two small pendants shaped like an axe, a piece of a sheath of a dagger hilt decorated in granulated work and a longish bead of red carnelian with a winged horse.²⁵

One of the most valuable results of the discoveries of the last quarter century or so has been the ability to bridge over some part of the great

gap in history between the fall of the Bronze Age civilisation and the emergence of what we may for the first time designate as Greek.

The blank period from approximately 1100-800 B.C. when the amalgamation of peoples and the transition from one civilisation to another was taking place has now been illuminated to a certain extent by the remains of pottery from Late Helladic III through Sub-mycenaean and Protogeometric to the Geometric period. These developments may be traced without a break in certain areas, notably the North Slope, the region north and west of the Arcopagus, the Outer Kerameikos and the Agora.

This period of transition and the growth and decline of the Geometric and the beginning of the Early Attic periods form the subject of the next chapter.

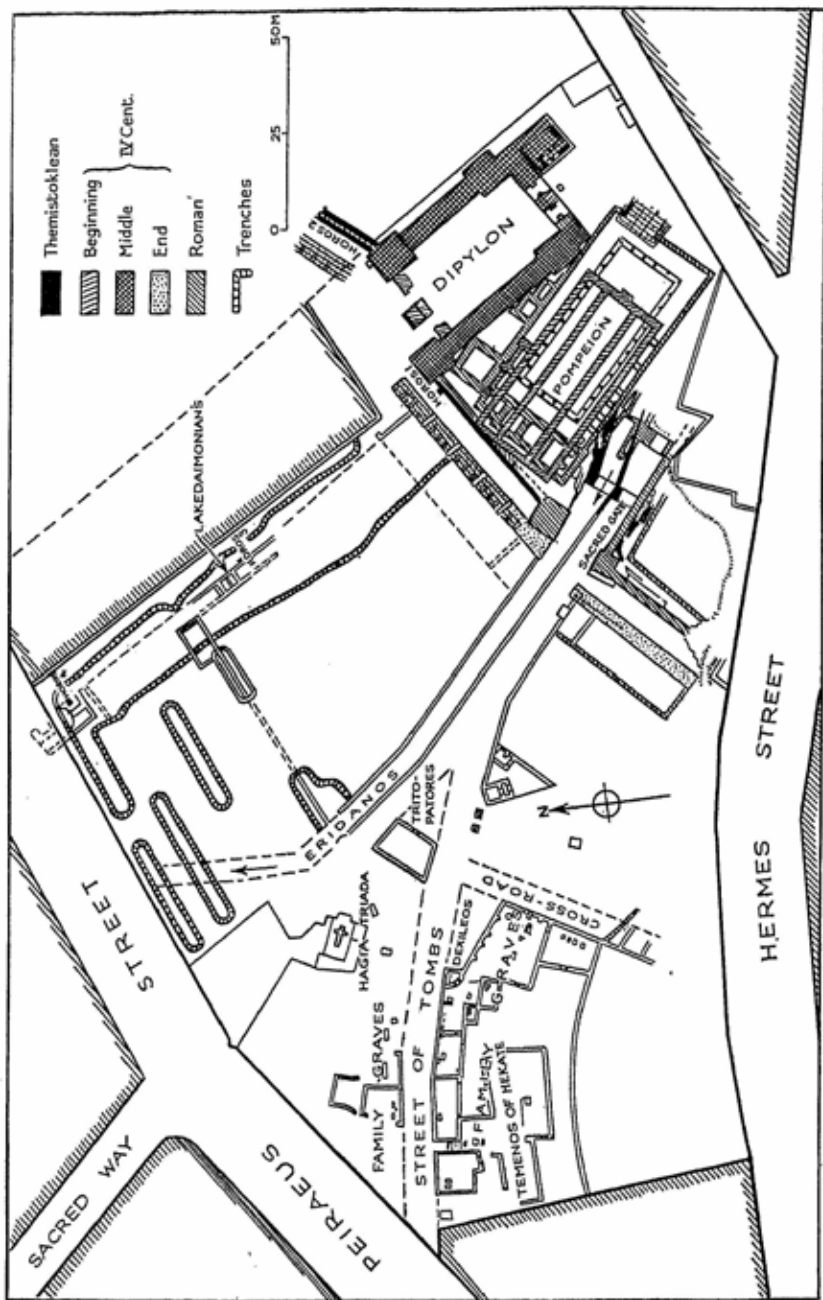


Fig. 6. Plan of the Dipylon Area

CHAPTER III

The Transitional Age from Bronze to Iron— The Outer Kerameikos, the Agora

THE gallant effort to defend the Acropolis seems to have been successful and the Athenians took great pride in never having been conquered by the invading barbarian "Dorians" but in preserving the old original stock and calling themselves autochthonous or earth-born. Certainly they were never displaced by any newcomers and the evidence shows that the old stock continued alongside the new elements and that the thread of continuity had not been broken.

A long transitional period often called the Dark Age extended between the overthrow of the Helladic civilisation and the rise of the earliest "Greek", which was such a contrast in political and social organisation, language, religion and forms of artistic expression. History and even poetry tell us little of this period, for which there are no contemporary written records, but through the study of archaeological material—particularly pottery—it has been possible to fill some of the gaps.

The Late Helladic III houses on the North Slope which were suddenly abandoned in time of stress when the inhabitants presumably took refuge in the fortified Acropolis, have left no successors and not very much is known about the sites of the settlement, or settlements, to which the cemeteries in the Agora and the Kerameikos that have furnished most of the material remains belonged, but it is clear that the expansion was towards the north and west.

The area known as the Outer Kerameikos is bisected by the brook Eridanos which runs in a westerly direction across it. The earliest cemeteries were situated at the north and south of the brook and even after it had been discreetly canalised countless graves flanked it on either side, on the gentle slope to the south and on the rising hillock to the north. Three famous roads ran through the Kerameikos, from the Dipylon Gate a broad avenue about 1 km. long led to the Academy, from the Sacred Gate ran the Eleusis road from which the road to Peiraeus branched off almost at once. In historical times the Kerameikos was the State Cemetery for those who had fallen in battle or otherwise distinguished themselves and the roads were bordered with public monuments and also with family tombs, many of them used for several generations. But before passing to these, we must summarise the results of the most recent excavations which have been so fruitful in furnishing material to bridge over from rather shadowy early days

to the time of the familiar monuments. Before the city wall divided the Outer from the Inner Kerameikos much of the low-lying area served as a necropolis and the Outer Kerameikos includes hundreds of graves of all periods. The limited space available resulted in overcrowding and the consequent destruction of earlier graves by later ones which cut into them made the disentangling of the stratification a task only to be overcome by patient effort.¹

The earliest systematic excavations here were those begun in 1863 by the Greeks which brought to light a large number of huge vases decorated with geometric motives and funeral scenes in a style to which the name Dipylon was given from the place of their discovery. Later excavations for more than half a century, especially those by the German Institute in 1927 and later, have shown the development of the Geometric style from the Protogeometric, which itself grew out of Submycenaean, through Early, Strong, Ripe and Late Geometric until at the end of Subgeometric it gave way to Protoattic and Proto-chorinthian which had for years existed beside it.

At the close of Late Helladic III the pottery was the familiar "Mycenaean" style with the field largely occupied by designs of a free and spacious nature; the Geometric pottery on the contrary lays emphasis on formal designs placed on the vase in accordance with rigid canonical rules. No one could possibly mistake one style for the other, but now one can follow the course of development through a series of transitions which carry over from the past and point the way to the future. The potter's craft was never lost and the technique of Geometric vase-making was a heritage from the Mycenaeans. Though the Geometric is utterly different in style and in many shapes, it is clearly the result of trial and error and of selection over a period of centuries of experiment. The change from Helladic through Geometric to a period of orientalising influence can be observed in many parts of the Greek world but has been more thoroughly studied in Athens than elsewhere.

The earliest cemeteries in the Kerameikos were situated some 200 m. apart. One extended from near the west side of the Dipylon Gate, partly under the Pompeion, to the Sacred Gate, the other was farther west along the Peiraeus Road.²

The first was predominantly Submycenaean with the dead buried in graves lined and generally covered with stone slabs and arranged in a fairly systematic way parallel to each other. The second has furnished no graves earlier than the Protogeometric and these often include deeper small pits to hold a cinerary urn. Both inhumation and cremation continue side by side throughout Greek history.

Most of the material discovered consists of objects buried in the graves and we do not know how early the custom of designating a grave by some monument on the outside came into use, but by the

Geometric period the large vases best known through the Dipylon kraters and amphorae made specially for funeral use stood as monuments outside the tombs and were the forerunners of the sculptured stelai.

The Submycenaean style is so closely affiliated to the latest Mycenaean pottery, or Late Helladic III, preserving many of the old shapes and old decorations though in a somewhat enfeebled form, that it is believed by some to have been the work of potters who migrated after the fall of Mycenae, and worked in Athens, but whether that be true or not, it is clear that the makers of it tried to carry on the tradition but had lost most of their vivid creative zest and were satisfied with placing the realistic decoration on the shoulder of the vase and covering the rest by horizontal zones and bands, half-circles, chevrons, zigzags, wavy lines and circles of dots. Along with the familiar stirrup-vases, cups and jugs, the small amphora begins to take a more prominent place and may be regarded as the ancestor of the side-handled amphora which played such an important role in Attic pottery by way of the Protogeometric style and its successors.

Submycenaean and Protogeometric are often found in one grave and it is sometimes difficult to determine when one period ends and the other begins, but soon a more energetic spirit manifests itself and the contours become firmer while the decoration is applied in a more systematic fashion with less freedom and more discipline tending to limit certain designs to certain fields of the vase. In general the tendency is to make the shoulder-zone the most important field and side by side with the continued use of vases with light background and neat sparse decoration, vases are introduced with black surface and light-coloured zones or panels reserved for the patterns.³

By this time the decorative repertoire of wavy lines and concentric circles or half-circles, sometimes drawn with a compass, has been augmented by such other motives as rows of triangles or diamonds, zigzags, hatched panels, lattice and chequer, and the style is passing over into the Early Geometric, though both Protogeometric and Early Geometric are found together for some time.⁴ The greatest novelty is the introduction of the maeander, generally cross-hatched, used sometimes vertically sometimes horizontally on the neck and between the handles. From now on each shape of pot has its own special type of decoration though a certain variation is permissible within the rule.

New shapes are the pyxis with a pointed or flat lid (the latter often with plastic horses) and the trefoil oinochoe with flat bottom, while the improved proportions of the amphora contributed in no small degree to its later development. Another popular shape was a skyphos with straight sides and rather high rim well suited for the panel style with a ship or a combat scene, often bounded by vertical lines to form the

metopes which became one of the most characteristic Geometric decorations.

The Early Geometric style passes gradually into the Strong Geometric in which there is rather more freedom in placing designs. The metopes are filled with swastika or trefoil and the zones include many figure-scenes. Favourite shapes were the trefoil jug with a long narrow neck and sloping shoulders and the amphora. There was a preference for very large vases which offered a spacious field for the well-known funeral scenes of *prothesis* (lying in state) and *ekphora* (procession).⁵

In the former the dead man lies surrounded by mourners tearing their hair or seated or standing round the bier. Sometimes these figures are nude and the men and women can be distinguished only by the swords carried by the men; on other vases the women wear skirts and some of the men helmets. The scenes with chariots are either funeral processions or races in connection with the funeral ceremonies, in true Homeric tradition. The pictures show a strange mixture of childish drawing and conventionality. Whether this was because of lack of skill or because the painter was concerned only with abstract ideas is a disputed point. In any case, triangular bodies, wasp-waists, long legs and heads with little or no indication of features beyond a dot for the eye, are the regular characteristics of human beings, most of which bear little resemblance to reality. The head and legs are in profile and the body in full-face; all is done in silhouette except for the occasional use of outline for the heads. The ignorance of perspective is evident in the way the dead person is represented lying on his side on the bier, presumably covered by the pall that extends above him, and still more in the way chariot wheels are shown side by side or one inside the other, while the spans of horses often have one body, three or four heads and innumerable legs. Both subjects—*prothesis* and chariot-scenes—are generally combined on the great monumental vases intended to be placed on tombs. Other representations of human beings are comparatively rare, except for occasional scenes with warriors or sailors and ships.

The big funeral vases are the climax of the Geometric style and though in succeeding periods the technical processes of manufacture continued to be as good as ever, a liking for smaller vases increased and the rigid conventions of form and decoration slowly relaxed. The panel-and-band system gradually broke up, the triglyph-metope decoration lost all its architectural quality, the maeander ran riot and new motives like chains of dotted lozenges, latticed or peaked triangles, rows of dots connected by tangents, did little to reinvigorate the exhausted style, which now introduced many favourites of the Orientalising Corinthian, Cycladic and Eastern Mediterranean styles, such as lions, deer, goats, coursing hounds, snakes (often plastic) symbolic of the lower world, strange birds, rays, hooks, and floral ornaments.

Before the end of the eighth century the interest had shifted to figure scenes and floral ornament while the Geometric motives became subordinate space fillers. The stage was set for the beginning of the Protoattic style.

In contrast to the restricted formalism of the Geometric, the Protoattic is hospitably inclined to welcome new ideas both in subject matter and technical processes.⁶ In its earliest phase it holds fast to many Geometric traditions, combining with them new motives, but before long the latter prevail and the zone-decoration of the vase is broken up into reserved panels in which the interest is centered, while the other parts become supplementary to the chief subject. Animals and scenes with human or fantastic beings now take the field and they are represented to accord with the orientalising practice of using purplish-red and white as additional colours and incision for the drawing of details. The influence of all these new features was rather intoxicating and resulted in an exuberance in which the painter let himself go wherever his riotous imagination led. This spirited style which was inclined to work on rather an heroic scale gradually imposed stern discipline on itself, the result of which was the formation of the Attic Black-Figure style in which the perfect balance between the imagination of Protoattic and the controlled sense of form of the Geometric is first achieved and which continues thereafter to be the distinctive characteristic of Attic vase-painting.

The Protoattic was little known or studied until comparatively recently when a wealth of material from the Kerameikos, the Agora, and outlying parts of Attica, especially Phaleron, Vari and vicinity, has made it possible to follow its development from start to finish. This, however, belongs to the history of pottery, but certain other closely affiliated fields of artistic expression are best illustrated by recent discoveries in the Kerameikos. They come from graves of the types already mentioned, from tombs built of clay bricks or tiles in the form of a small house or temple, and from curious channels 4 m.-12 m. long lined with terracotta in which ritual offerings were placed in connection with funeral ceremonies, many of the vases having been purposely broken.⁷

The Protoattic pottery, even more than the Geometric, had a fondness for plastic decoration of an appropriate nature. The snakes so beloved in later Geometric were no less dear to the makers of Protoattic and protomes of griffins, elaborate floral ornaments and figures of women in attitudes of lamentation were added to the funeral vases, while a new style of incense burner in the shape of a shallow saucer resting on the head of a seated sphinx is one of the most interesting classes of objects produced.⁸

The sphinx when made of terracotta was used chiefly for architectural purposes such as akroteria, and when of limestone or marble

for monuments. It was destined to play a very significant role in early art. The archaic grave monuments⁹ from about the beginning of the sixth century consisted of an inscribed base, a tall slender tapering shaft sometimes painted, sometimes bearing an inscription and sometimes decorated with the portrait of the deceased in relief, and a capital, at first of cavetto form and later of volute or lyre design, surmounted by a plinth on which was seated the figure of a sphinx. This type of stele was used until the latter part of the sixth century when the sphinx was succeeded by a finial in the form of a palmette.

These grave stelai which were usually on a large enough scale to represent the departed in life size, were obviously possible only for persons of wealth and many of them have been found in parts of Attica where were the estates of the land-owning aristocracy before the time of the great commercial expansion of Athens. It has been pointed out that these monuments indicate that the aristocracy as well as the tyrants (who generally were credited with this saving virtue amongst their vices) were patrons of the sculptors.

With the social changes, from tyranny to democracy, the Persian Wars and consequent destruction and slow reconstruction, this rather splendid kind of monument disappears and it is not until after the middle of the fifth century with its relative stability and prosperity that its successor makes its appearance in the form of a more or less square stele with figures in relief surmounted by a low pediment. This became the standard type, of which hundreds of examples have survived, and it held the field until the sumptuary laws of Demetrius of Phaleron in 317-316 B.C. limited the memorials to a small undecorated column.

The stelai contemporary with the great state monuments in the Kerameikos will be described in a later chapter. Meanwhile we must see what evidence for the transitional period has been found in other parts of the city.

Although no Submycenaean and Protogeometric cemeteries are as extensive as those in the Kerameikos, considerable material of both periods has been found on the northwest slopes of the Acropolis and Areopagus, in the Agora itself and on the Kolonos hill. For our purpose the most important fact is the definite evidence of the unbroken antiquity of Athens, and though the examples cited—mere pots or their fragments—may seem trifling, it is a wonder that anything has survived the millenia during which the central part of Athens has been inhabited.

It must be borne in mind that much of the material used during what is known as the Early Iron Age, especially iron and wood, is of such a perishable nature that little is left. Objects made of iron, such as weapons, tools, implements, jewellery and trinkets, have for the most part rusted away or disappeared and those of wood have with

few exceptions succumbed to the climate which is not, like that of Egypt, favourable to their preservation. The few wooden *xoana* or earliest cult-statues that survived into classical times were treasured and revered objects but nothing is left of them now, nor is there more than an occasional fragment of the wooden chests or boxes on which some of the bronze reliefs that have survived were once mounted. One rare and precious survival is a group of small wooden panels with religious scenes painted in white, blue, red and yellow, found in a cave near Corinth and dating about the sixth century.¹⁰

Wood, of course, was universally used for architectural purposes as timber framework into which the mud-brick walls were set, and as roof timbers to be covered with tiles, and of these wall beams we now and then find rotted or charred remains or even the impressions they have left in the clay when they themselves have disintegrated.

But for most parts of the Greek world, including Athens, our knowledge is based largely on the remains of pottery or other objects of terracotta. Some of the material has been found in isolated graves, especially those of children, some in the bottom of wells or pits, and bit by bit sufficient evidence has accumulated to show that a considerable population must have continued to occupy many parts of the region between the Acropolis and the Kerameikos. The north and west slopes of the Acropolis and Areopagus already noted for Late Helladic III chamber tombs and Submycenaean and Protogeometric remains, was also particularly rich in those of the Geometric and Protoattic periods and new material is constantly coming to light which helps to fill in more details in the framework already built up. Both branches of the road that ran in front of the west buildings in the Agora and forked at the Boundary Stone of the Agora to extend southwards were flanked by small groups of Geometric graves, and on the road that intersected them northwest of the Areopagus more than twenty graves have been investigated.¹¹

Just south of the Tholos in the Agora was a Geometric-Protoattic cemetery consisting of a group of some twenty graves in what seems to have been a family burial ground.¹² Some were inhumation graves with the skeletons of adults laid out surrounded by their possessions, others were urn burials of children. Large deposits of ashes and burnt material testify to the practice of sacrifices at the burial and in one or two cases the remains seem to be those of funeral pyres. The great value of this excavation lies not only in the quantity of excellent pottery, chiefly Late Geometric and Protoattic, found in the graves but in the fact that it forms an undisturbed unit in which the burials must have taken place within a few generations. The precinct, which was a narrow terrace some 16.88 m. long, was supported by a substantial retaining wall on the east with returns of 2.95 m. on the southwest and 2.80 m. on the northwest and was backed up on the west side

against the rock of Kolonos Agoraios. The retaining wall besides supporting the terrace separated it from the principal road which ran north and south through the west side of the Agora. Before the road and its accompanying Great Drain were built the surplus water from the adjacent slopes must have rushed through this way below the wall.

One of the discoveries on the northwest slope of the Areopagus¹³ consists of several portions of curved foundation walls 0.35 m.-0.40 m. in thickness which evidently belonged to a house of asymmetrical elliptical shape *ca.* 11 m. \times 5 m. orientated east and west. A layer of clay over the walls and floor of hard-packed earth indicates that the upper part of the walls had been of sun-dried brick, probably supporting a thatched roof like those represented on the terracotta models of Geometric buildings from Perachora, Argos and elsewhere, or possibly a hoop-roof fashioned of boughs. Geometric houses are rare and mostly rectangular. One apsidal end such as is frequent in early temples was an inheritance from Middle Helladic times, and a circular hut-like structure also has a long ancestry, but an oval house of the Geometric period is very unusual if not unique.

The abundant pottery from this area, found in the house, in a child's cist grave cut into the floor, and in extensive votive deposits, ranges from Early Geometric to Attic and Corinthian of the sixth century, with Protoattic particularly well represented, and though furnishing many interesting examples—some of them very individual and amusing—on the whole it illustrates styles similar to those already described in connection with the Kerameikos.

Probably the most interesting discovery, and one which rapidly became famous, was the terracotta polychrome plaque¹⁴ (0.248 m. \times 0.133 m. and 0.125 m. \times 0.011 m.) of a standing female figure, a goddess or worshipper, in ritualistic attitude with arms bent upward and hands with palms turned outward and fingers spread. She is dressed in an inner garment of yellow and an outer one of red, girt around the waist and represented in a curious fashion with the upper left half and lower right half showing the red outer garment and the upper right and lower left the yellow inner one. Both were patterned fabrics with horizontal lines, rosettes and dots in blue on the red and a spiral hook and rows of dotted rosettes in red on the yellow. The head and neck were moulded in relief, the hair, arranged in short curls on the forehead and long wavy locks, is painted red and the diadem consists of two bluish-green bands with a row of dots between. Red was used also for the arms, eyebrows and contour of the eyes which had blue irises and red pupils. The figure was flanked on either side by very undulatory snakes, doubtless of chthonian significance, rearing upward. The one at the left, which was horned, was red with blue dots, that at the right, which is showing its fangs, was bluish-green

with red dots. Buds and rosettes were used as "fillers" in the curves of the snakes.

The plaque was coated with a thick white slip, washed over with thin red, and the gay colours were laid on thick or thin as desired. The drawing is rather clumsy and careless. This matt polychrome style is very different from most other Greek paintings, *e.g.* the neatly coloured drawings on terracotta plaques or the metopes from Thermon, but as it was a favourite technique in Cyprus whence it spread to Crete, it may have been introduced from there, for the subject is certainly in the Cretan tradition. The plaque is dated a little before the middle of the seventh century.

Another noteworthy find was a group of about thirty miniature shields of terracotta, circular in shape and decorated with Geometric designs in polychrome style. These were obviously of a dedicatory character and seem to be the earliest examples of similar styles of shields found occasionally in other parts of Greece. The numerous terracotta figures, both animal and human, belong to classes familiar on many sites and need not be described here.

The large quantity of material and the evidence of burning and breakage suggest that it formed part of a votive deposit which had been thrown in from some nearby sanctuary of an underworld character. The best candidate for this is the sanctuary of the Semnai, presumably situated in the cleft on the north side of the Areopagos, which will be described in a later chapter.

It is rather interesting that the only Geometric house found so far was in what continued to be a residential section throughout history. From the west slope of the Areopagus to the road east of the Pnyx there were houses, some dating from the fifth century, others Hellenistic or Roman, and the Great Drain bisected the area. The west and south slopes of Kolonos Agoraios and the vicinity of the Pnyx known in antiquity as Koile and Melite, were largely residential also. With the exception of some fifth-century foundations northwest of the Areopagus provisionally identified as possibly belonging to one of the Law Courts, no large buildings of a public nature have been found and we may safely infer that the Agora proper and Kolonos Agoraios with its temple of Hephaistos were fringed by houses, some of which doubtless spread as far as the Kerameikos from which we started and to which we must now return.

CHAPTER IV

The Dipylon, Road to the Agora and Monuments on It

SEVERAL important monuments in the Dipylon-Kerameikos were mentioned as landmarks for the orientation of the cemeteries described in the previous chapter. One of them is the fifty-century wall generally known as Themistoklean and obviously such in certain portions of its extent.¹ Here the remains of the early circuit wall are well preserved and its general structure and composition may be observed in the stretch extending from the Sacred Gate to the point where it loses itself in the rising ground to the south-west.

The wall was 2.50 m. in thickness, built in the usual fashion with outer faces of stone and inner filling of rubble and earth. The lowest course is built of poros blocks, on which were set two courses of bluish limestone with occasional insertions of marble pieces, such as architectural members, stelai, or fragments of sculpture, many of them used in the emergency construction so vividly described by Thucydides. Above the stone foundations the wall was made of unbaked brick. With such a method of construction it would certainly have been possible to complete it in the short space of a month or so, but it is not surprising that a wall so hastily built was soon in need of repairs, and the similarity of the additional course of neat polygonal limestone to that used in the stretch of wall between the Sacred Gate and the Dipylon Gate and now generally dated in the time of Konon, suggests that the addition was made as part of a general strengthening of the walls early in the fourth century. The different kinds of material used in the upper courses of the foundation show where repairs were made in the ensuing centuries when the wall continued to form the city defence. Through the wall near the tower of the Sacred Gate is a small postern door.²

The best known of the marble sculptures recovered from the wall are two bases with athletic scenes in relief, the most famous of which is generally called "the Hockey Players". These were originally intended to support funeral statues of *kouroi*³ and were found by chance in 1922 in a part of the wall between the Dipylon and the Hill of the Nymphs.

The Sacred Gate served not only for the processions but also as an exit for the Eridanos brook. Until the Persian Wars the Sacred Way to Eleusis and a watercourse of Peisistratean date both passed through it. In the time of Themistokles the Eridanos was bounded on its eastern

side by a strong containing wall and divided from the Gate by a wall limiting its course to the eastern half of the passageway or dromos, and leaving the western half for the Sacred Way. A gate with two openings, each *ca.* 5 m. wide and separated by solid masonry, was built some 18 m. inside the city wall to which it was connected on the west side of the passageway by a massive wall terminating in a tower about 5 m. square in which at least three building periods may be distinguished. The general lines of this gate were retained in later rebuildings and a large tower was built in the fourth century B.C. at the east exit of the Gate to balance the western one.⁴

Between this tower and the southwest tower of the Dipylon Gate extends the finely preserved piece of wall formerly called Themistoklean but now recognised as Kononian. Its present height is 1·15 m. and the foundations are 2·40 m.–2·60 m. wide. The wall is a beautiful piece of polygonal construction in fine bluish limestone with slightly rusticated surface and it presumably follows the line of the earlier Themistoklean wall. In front of it, at a distance of *ca.* 5 m. is a wall 4 m. thick with foundations of breccia and upper part of poros, belonging to the same period as the Dipylon Gate and evidently thought necessary as a reinforcement of the older circuit.⁵

Against the face of the polygonal wall *ca.* 2·50 m. southwest of the Dipylon Gate is a marble boundary stone with bevelled edges and tooled surface, except for draft mouldings and a wider smooth strip down the centre of each broad face, on which in finely cut letters of the fourth century, arranged perpendicularly, is inscribed "ΟΡΟΣ ΚΕΡΑΜΕΙΚΟΥ" "Boundary of the Kerameikos". Another similar boundary stone which was found in a corresponding position beyond the northeast tower of the Dipylon Gate had only the lower part preserved. Two others have been found on the road leading from the Dipylon past the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians towards the Academy, and another at the northwest corner of the Agora on the road to the Sacred Gate.⁶

The Dipylon, as its name indicates, is double with an outer and an inner gate and connecting walls which enclose an oblong court measuring 41·61 m. by 22 m. Each gate had two openings, 3·30 m. wide, divided by a central pier. The massive walls, 5 m. thick, which bounded the court terminate at their outer ends in large towers, the more westerly of which projects farther than its neighbour. Similar towers were placed just before the return which formed the inner gateway.

Immediately in front of the central pier of the outer gate is a large rectangular stepped base of Hymettos marble, and on the inner or city side of the central pier of the inner gate is a round marble altar standing on a square base made of two blocks of poros and inscribed in third-century letters Διὸς Ἑρμείου Ἀκάμαντος "Of Zeus Herkeios, of Hermes, of Akamas". Zeus Herkeios was guardian of the

city, Hermes god of the gateway, Akamas the tribal hero of the Kerameikos.

Southeast of the inner gate is a large paved court, built of poros and Hymettos marble, with a fountain which was enclosed by a marble parapet and opened to the southwest through a row of three columns and an anta. A gutter to catch the drip ran along the front.

The material of which the Dipylon Gate is built (conglomerate, poros and Hymettos marble), as well as other architectural characteristics indicate that it was constructed about the second half of the fourth century B.C. in the time of Lykourgos. From Plutarch we learn that the Dipylon was once called the Thriasian Gate, because it led to the Eleusinian deme Thria. The name Dipylon seems first to have been used in 288-287 B.C. and the building of the strong double gate appears to have belonged to the general strengthening of the defences of the city, to which the Kononian wall had already contributed. The gate preserved a double form through the rest of its existence and was reinforced when necessary. Apparently the outer gate was rebuilt in Roman times; the central pier contains re-used blocks of marble, several of them inscribed.⁷

The space between the Dipylon and the Sacred Gate was occupied by the Pompeion.⁸ The Greek building, of poros, belongs to the beginning of the fourth century and was destroyed in Sulla's siege of Athens in 86 B.C. Some of the stone balls thrown by his ballistae are still to be seen. Fortunately the destruction of the Greek Pompeion was not complete and the excavations have made clear its plan and uncovered a considerable portion of the colonnade and the propylon.

The Pompeion was a rectangle 55.30 m. long by 30.10 m. broad, consisting of a court 43 m. by 17.50 m. entirely surrounded by a colonnade raised 0.30 m.-0.34 m. above it, in which there were six columns of stuccoed poros on the shorter ends and thirteen on the longer. The enclosing walls of the peribolos still have their orthostates of Hymettos marble along the east side and part of the south. Above ran a narrow cornice of Pentelic marble on one block of which (opposite the second column from the south) was inscribed the name of Menander.

On the northern and eastern sides of the rectangle were smaller rooms of various dimensions and at the southeast corner a propylon gave access to the city. The propylon was a simple structure, 12.28 m. broad, with two columns between the side walls and entrances for foot passengers on either side of a central ramp paved with poros blocks. It has a euthynteria of poros and two steps of Hymettos marble, and a pier of the same material in the central passage that still shows holes for a door to close the entrance. The passage and the foot-ways are well worn.

After Sulla's day the area was occupied by the workshops of potters,

dyers, smiths and other artisans until, probably in Hadrian's time, a new building was constructed with the same orientation but a somewhat different plan from the Greek one. The Roman Pompeion was 50 m. by 24 m. and is divided into a nave and two aisles separated by rows of square pillars, eleven free-standing and one serving as an anta at each end of the rows, and its massive concrete foundations were strengthened by nine buttresses on the southwest. Two small rooms were added near the middle of the northeast side. The building occupied the greater part of the area included in the Greek Pompeion but did not utilise any of the earlier foundations.

The Pompeion seems to have served many purposes. We hear of it as a haunt of philosophers and it was adorned with portraits of some of them; it was used as a centre of food distribution in times of emergency, but its principal function was in connexion with the processions or *pompai* for the religious festivals, amongst them the Great Eleusinia and the Panathenaia.

Near by was the Sanctuary of Demeter, Kore and Iakkhos, with statues of these deities which—according to an inscription painted on the wall “in Attic letters”, *i.e.* the alphabet used officially up to 403 B.C. when the Ionian was adopted—were the work of Praxiteles.⁹

A badly damaged base bearing a dedication to Demeter and Kore and signed by Praxiteles, which was found built into a wall just north of the railway beyond the northern end of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, may have been connected with this sanctuary. The block is L-shaped with mouldings at top and bottom. It measures 1.35 m. on the face and is 0.674 m. high. The names of the goddesses extend in a horizontal line at the top and those of the dedicator and her family in a column at the right side of the slab, with the name of the sculptor in smaller letters below.

The monument was dedicated by Kleiokrateia, daughter of Polyuktos the Teithrasian, wife of Spoudias. This family figures in the 41st oration of Demosthenes, which has to do with a law-suit about the estate of Polyuktos.

The finely cut fourth-century inscription is of course not in the Attic letters which Pausanias says were used on the wall of the sanctuary, but the base had been broken and built into a wall as early as the first century B.C., and the inscription may, as the excavators suggest, have been replaced by the painted dedication on the wall, since archaistic letters were not unusual at that time.¹⁰

Pausanias tells us that from the Dipylon Gate to the Kerameikos there were porticoes with bronze statues of famous people in front of them, but as this part of the city has been built upon for centuries, no traces of them have been discovered. Presumably the majority were stoai of the usual type with a colonnade in front and shops at the rear, for it is in this section that the commercial agora was situated, divided from the

political agora at about the point now occupied by the cutting for the electric railway. Here must have been the shops and booths, probably for the most part stalls such as are in use now-a-days, easily moved and perishable, so that they have left no trace of what once must have been a most lively centre. No remains have been found of markets of a more permanent nature, such for example as there are at Corinth, and it is not until we turn to the study of Roman remains that we find a magnificent structure like the Roman Agora.

We can, however, picture to ourselves the early crowded market extending from the shops of the potters and smiths in the Agora to those at the Dipylon with the meat, fish, vegetable, wine, oil, cheese and provision markets, the sellers of all sorts of wares, the money changers, the barbers' shops with their gossip, the centre of all sorts of petty interests, such as we find so picturesquely described in the writings of Lysias, Theophrastos and others.¹¹

But not all of the colonnades can have been devoted exclusively to shops. We read of shrines and a gymnasium and the house of Pulytion, probably the place where the parody of the Eleusinian Mysteries was performed by certain citizens, much to the scandal of all and sundry. Besides Pulytion who played the torch-bearer, there was Alkibiades who took the star part of the hierophant. Apparently Pulytion was punished by having his house confiscated, for Pausanias says that in his time it was devoted to the worship of Dionysos the Minstrel. Alkibiades also was severely punished by being condemned for sacrilege and having his property confiscated. Many fragments of inscriptions give lists of part of his personal possessions that were put up for public sale.¹²

Although our knowledge of the colonnades and groups of statues along the road depends mostly on literary sources, the course of the road between the Dipylon and the Agora has been pretty well determined, but as it has not yet been fully excavated it is impossible to describe it in detail. The continuation of this road in the Agora, crossing it diagonally from northwest to southeast, is discussed in connexion with the other roads in the Agora. At a point just north of the railway two branches coming from other parts of the Agora area joined it to form the principal road to the Dipylon. Northwest of the Agora another section of this road which had been discovered by Dr. Dörpfeld as early as 1899 gives a further determining line on its course.¹³

Pausanias mentions statues of Athena Paionia, of Zeus, of Mnemosyne and of the Muses, and an Apollo, the votive offering and work of Euboulides, a sculptor of about the middle of the second century B.C.

In 1837 workmen digging for the foundations of a house at the northwest corner of Hermes Street and the Plateia ton Asomaton, 150 m. southeast of the Dipylon Gate, found large poros blocks belonging to the foundations of a base at least 8 m. long, with two steps 0.25 m.

high. There was also a very large marble head of a woman and a torso of a colossal female figure, two male portrait heads of Roman date, and a block of Hymettos marble 1.06 m. by 0.28 m. with the inscription [Εὐβουλίδης Εὐ]χείρου Κρωπίδης ἐποίησεν "Euboulides, son of Eucheiros, of the deme of Kropia, made" (it or them). The excavations were never completed and the place has been built upon for a century or more. In 1874 in what was said to be the same place was found a colossal female head of Parian marble, cut for a helmet and presumably representing Athena.¹⁴

There has been much difference of opinion as to whether these really are part of the monument by Euboulides. In the present state of our knowledge—and a further excavation on the spot seems anything but likely—the identity is impossible to prove, yet the discovery of part of a large base, fragments of several large statues, and an inscription mentioning Euboulides at a site in conformity with Pausanias's narrative seems to make the identification at least possible.

A less imposing thoroughfare, *ca.* 6.50 m. wide with a stone water-channel on the north side, led from the northwest corner of the Agora to the Sacred Gate. Facing this road on its northern side was a long narrow Doric stoa 6.40 m. deep, dating from the first century B.C., 46 m. of whose length have been excavated. It consisted of a Doric colonnade and a back wall made of re-used blocks and was built with stylobate and columns of poros on rubble foundations. It was destroyed by fire in the latter part of the third century A.D. and some time later a building with concrete walls was erected on the old foundations.

On the north side of the road with its north wall parallel to the Stoa, was a building also of the first century B.C., constructed of re-used blocks of poros, conglomerate and marble, one of which was the base inscribed with the name of Praxiteles.¹⁵

On the south side of the road was the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Hegemone, Demos and the Graces or Charites. This precinct is not mentioned by Pausanias but was already known from other sources before the discovery, in 1891 during the cutting for the Athens-Piraeus railway, of many architectural members and several inscriptions which were to be set up in the precinct of Demos and the Charites.¹⁶ A third century inscription, on an altar, is dedicated to Aphrodite Hegemone, Demos and the Charites. They were found at a point north of the eastern end of the Hephaisteion, and although neither the exact size or shape of the temenos has been determined, it probably faced on the road from the Agora to the Sacred Gate.

Here too was the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania, which Pausanias places near the Hephaisteion.¹⁷

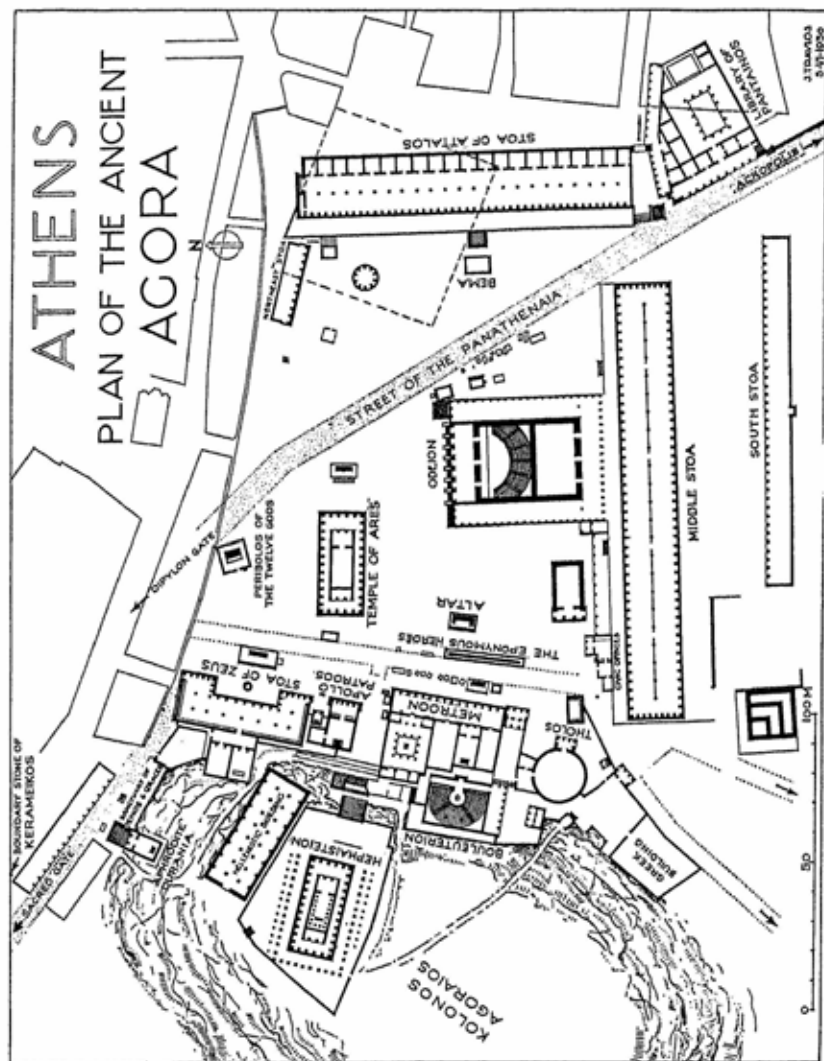


Fig. 7. Plan of the Ancient Agora

CHAPTER V

The Agora—Introduction and West Side

THE excavations in the American zone of the Agora have determined certain fixed points in the topography of the area and have made it possible to amend practically all of the former reconstructions of the Market-Place which had perforce to be based on human ingenuity in interpreting ancient writers rather than on any definite buildings brought to light.

The discovery of the Tholos in 1934 established a fixed point from which one may begin to reckon backwards in the orderly narrative of Pausanias and find the position of most of the buildings seen by him after entering the Agora. Nearly all the topographers had placed the Tholos too far south, though actually the several buildings mentioned before it are compactly grouped in rather a small area. One can confidently identify the Bouleuterion, the Metroon and the Temple of Apollo Patroos as the buildings lying below the eastern side of the Kolonos Agoraios, the hill on which stands the so-called "Theseion" or Temple of Hephaistos.

Directly north of them is a large stoa which must be either the Stoa Basileios or the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, unless indeed the two were identical. Its northern end is intersected by the line of the modern railway between Athens and the Peiraeus, which forms the actual northern boundary of the excavations, although a few minor explorations have been made farther to the north.

Another fixed point, also discovered in 1934, was the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods, which is east of the stoa and mostly under the railway tracks. Still another fixed point was determined in 1935 with the discovery of the Odeion, in a somewhat unexpected place directly south of the Roman structure known as the Stoa of the Giants.

The boundaries of the Agora must have varied considerably at different periods. A long building, now known as the "Middle Stoa", which extends almost to the Stoa of Attalos and is orientated at right angles to it, was at first thought to be the southern boundary of the Hellenistic Market-Place when the Stoa of Attalos bounded it on the east, but the subsequent discovery of a long narrow stoa south of and parallel to it, the heavy south wall of which forms a retaining wall for a terrace higher to the south, makes it reasonably certain that this was the southern boundary of the Agora from the second century B.C. onwards.

The excavations have brought to light several of the early roads in

and around the Agora. The principal road from the Dipylon to the Acropolis crossed the Agora in a diagonal from northwest to southeast. At a point north of the railway a fork branched off from it towards the east, passing the north end of the Stoa of Attalos, and from the same point a third road led southwards past the buildings on the west side of the Agora, and out through its southwest corner, dividing there, one branch leading towards the Pnyx, the other round the western end of the Areopagus. The identification by Dr. Dörpfeld of this third road as the Processional Way by which the Panathenaic procession ascended, has led many scholars in recent years to conclude that Pausanias also must have followed that route rather than the more direct but steeper way east of the Areopagus.

Through the Agora the third road practically coincides with the course of the Great Drain of Peisistratean date which runs almost due north and south directly east of the buildings on the west side of the Agora and received two tributaries, one coming from the southeast and one from the southwest, at a point east of the Tholos.

The low position of the Market-Place made it necessary at a very early date to provide for the carrying off of the surplus water which came down from the slopes of the adjacent hills, and in addition to the Great Drain others were built to form a complex system. A fountain-house, of archaic construction in its earliest parts, has been uncovered south of the western part of the Middle Stoa. The gentle slope of the Agora towards the north also necessitated a certain amount of levelling for sites of buildings. The fountain, the great drain, the levelling of the central area and the plentiful evidence for earlier buildings which underlay those that were seen and referred to by Pausanias and other travellers, show how the city spread out towards the northwest.

According to Pausanias a broad street lined with porticoes ran from the Dipylon Gate to the Kerameikos. By this term he regularly means the Agora and he says the first building on the right is the Stoa¹ where the King (archon) sat during his year of office. Farther on he says that above the Kerameikos and the Stoa Basileios is the Temple of Hephaistos.

These topographical conditions are well fulfilled by the remains of a large building situated directly below the steep eastern slope of the Kolonos Agoraios with its southern end slightly farther north than the line of the Temple of Hephaistos. In appearance it was a colonnade flanked by projecting wings which presented pedimented façades to the Market-Place and extended somewhat east of the central colonnaded part. The Stoa may be dated in the latter part of the fifth century B.C. but there are evidences of an earlier sanctuary beneath it which was at least as early as the sixth century. The meagre remains belong to the southwest angle of a small structure enclosing a rectangular base which lay below the third inner pier from the south. Just outside the

northwest corner was a poros base, 0.64 m. by 0.64 m. by 0.50 m., with a circular sinking cut in it to receive a monument. They seem to be parts of an early sanctuary in which the rectangular base would have supported the cult statue. Remains of what appear to be an archaic altar, 3.65 m. by 1.22 m., were found *ca.* 25 m. east of the rectangular base. A larger monument measuring 17.25 m. by 7.20 m. and constructed out of re-used blocks of poros was built over it at some time between the fourth and the second centuries B.C.

After the destruction of the sanctuary by the Persians the area was encroached upon by private establishments, such as a potter's shop, an ironworker's yard and cisterns, until the Stoa described below was built. In early Roman times a large annex of two rooms was added at the centre of the western part of the Stoa, and in the second century A.D. a large Exedra (not mentioned by Pausanias) was built in front of the Stoa, which itself seems to have been destroyed in 267 A.D. and never rebuilt.

The Stoa occupied a rectangular area of *ca.* 46.55 m. from north to south by *ca.* 18 m. from east to west, with the central part recessed so as to form an open space or court 20 m. by 5.5 m. between the projecting wings. Because of the sloping nature of the ground the foundations of the south part were bedded on the rock and elsewhere on fill. Several courses of blocks belonging to the northern end had been found in 1891 during the cutting for the railway, so that the dimensions of the Stoa may be restored with certainty.

Seven piers ran along the centre, and there were single interior piers in the north and south wings. The wings were finished with closed walls ending in antae in front of which were set the columns of the east façades. These were of the Doric order, while the interior columns may be restored as Ionic, unfluted.

The foundations are of large blocks of poros, the floor perhaps was paved with slabs of stone though none have been found, the four steps of the colonnade were of white and blue Hymettos marbles, the columns of Pentelic, as was also the entablature except the triglyphs which were of poros. Traces of colour remain on fragments of several members of the entablature. The taenia and regulae of the architrave were red, the triglyphs blue, the Lesbian cymation and tongue patterns of the cornice red and blue, and the palmette designs on the under side of the cornice were scratched on the marble and had a red background. The metopes were of separate slabs of Pentelic marble and were unpainted. The roof was supported by rafters of wood and was covered with terracotta tiles.

The solid retaining wall about a meter to the west of the building and parallel with it, necessitated by the crumbling character of the scarped Kolonos hill, was particularly desirable also as a protection for the back wall of a Stoa intended for paintings.

The evidence of the architectural remains and the pottery found in the filling points to a date in the last third of the fifth century B.C. The innovation of projecting wings may perhaps be traced to the influence of the Propylaea, and although rare in colonnades may be paralleled by later examples.²

The only sculptural decorations seem to have been the akroteria of the wings. Fragments of the figures from the angles of the south wing, one of them a winged Niké, have been found. They are of Pentelic marble, but the central akroteria which aroused the interest and comment of Pausanias were of terracotta and represented Theseus hurling Skyron into the sea and Himera (Eos) carrying off Kephalos.

Several small fragments of terracotta akroteria obviously belonging to a draped female figure in swift motion carrying a nude youth, may be recognised as part of the group of Eos and Kephalos, a subject that occurs as early as the sixth century on akroteria and continued to be a favourite with vase-painters. The most beautiful treatment of the subject is on a kylix by the Kodros painter, about contemporary with the building of the Stoa. A slightly later version of Eos and Kephalos in marble appears as the central akroterion of the Temple of the Athenians at Delos.³

Although the existing remains of a large stoa in this position are unquestionable, the matter of its identification is another story.⁴ According to Pausanias the Stoa Basileios was the first building on the right as you entered the Kerameikos, and north of the railway is the ancient street to the Sacred Gate which cut across north of the Stoa and was bordered by a colonnade on the north and by the Sanctuary of Demos and the Charites on the south. A well-known statue-base by Bryaxis found *in situ* within 4 m. of the north wall of the Stoa in 1891 apparently stood in the middle of this road. Thus there was little room for an important building between the road from the Dipylon and the Stoa described and this would at first sight seem to identify it as the Stoa Basileios.

In the open area between the wings are traces of monuments, the most important of which is a poros foundation *ca.* 4.20 m. in diameter, made of wedge-shaped blocks perfectly centred in relation to the Stoa and the wings. South of it are remains of an exedra-like structure and correspondingly placed to the north was an octagonal monument, with a curious fanlike projection towards the north. All were obviously statue-bases, and as Pausanias speaks next of the portrait statues of Konon, Timotheus and Evagoras King of Cyprus which were near the portico and says that here too stood Zeus Eleutherios and Hadrian, it seems reasonable to assign Zeus Eleutherios to the central base and Hadrian (described below) to the exedra.

But though the Stoa with the statues in front seems to fulfil the conditions for the Stoa Basileios, Pausanias adds that behind was a

colonnade with paintings of the Twelve Gods and on the wall opposite were Theseus, Democracy and Demos. Here was also the battle of Mantinea, all painted by Euphranor. After a long description of the frescoes he makes an easy transition by means of the artist Euphranor to the Temple of Apollo Patroos which he says is close at hand.

That leaves no room for any building between the Stoa already described and the remains identified as the Temple of Apollo immediately to the south of it. We should then be left in the predicament of having one actual building occupying the site which presumably should have been occupied by two—for although Pausanias does not specifically call the colonnade the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, the name is familiar from other sources—unless we accept the hypothesis that the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa of Zeus were alternative names for the same building.

This ingenious suggestion, first proposed by Valmin and supported by the excavator of the building, Professor Homer Thompson, has no positive evidence either literary or material against it. The two names first appear in literature and inscriptions simultaneously near the end of the fifth century thus suggesting that either name could be used for the Stoa which was completed about 409–408 B.C.

In this case it is natural to recognise the early sanctuary (pp. 41–42) with its altar and statue-base as that of Zeus, since Zeus Soter (often called Eleutherios for having freed the Athenians from the Persian menace) is known to have had a sanctuary in the city, and after the destruction of the statue by the Persians his worship would have centred about the altar and a new statue of Zeus Eleutherios until the new Stoa was ready. The close relation between the Stoa and the circular statue-base in front of it suggests that the building was carefully planned to include an earlier monument of importance.

Further support for the view that the Stoa was known as the Stoa Basileios is provided by the remains of the building identified as the Temple of Ares east of the stoa in question. Near the Temple of Ares Pausanias saw a statue of Pindar, and Pseudo-Aeschines speaks of a statue of Pindar, presumably the same one, in front of the Royal Stoa. A statue placed midway between the stoa and the temple might well have been localised with respect to either. The same could scarcely have been possible did the Stoa Basileios lie north of the excavated site.

The Stoa Basileios was connected with many interests and activities of Athenian life. The official duties of the King Archon included cases dealing with religion and impiety and it was probably here that Socrates, usually a frequenter of the stoa for social purposes, was brought up for trial on the latter charge. The Council of the Areopagus (which also dealt with some religious cases) sometimes met here and the suggestion that the Annex, with its two good-sized rooms, served for the

hearing of cases needing secrecy seems a reasonable one. The colonnade itself was a popular lounging place for the exchange of ideas and gossip and the benches round its walls were doubtless constantly occupied by a noisy throng so that a quieter place for legal business would be desirable.

We know from ancient writers that various kinds of public documents were engraved on stone and placed in or in front of the Stoa Basileios. Such, for example, were the codes of ancient laws revised at the close of the fifth century and put up where they might easily be seen by all. Andokides says that after revision and approval the laws of Drakon and of Solon were inscribed and set up in the stoa, and the latter according to Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* VII, 1) were written on *kurbeis* and placed in the Stoa Basileios. Fragments of these inscribed laws, both Solonian and Drakonian have been found and published. Later when speaking of the Prytaneion (discussed further on pp. 50-51, 55, 103) Pausanias says that in it the Laws of Solon were inscribed on wooden tablets.⁶ Other documents placed near the Stoa Basileios included the lists of rents due on the Athenian colonies established in the Lelantine plain in Euboea. Decrees commemorating liberation naturally took their place along with the five statues of the liberators in front of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios.⁶

The larger altar already mentioned (p. 42) has been tentatively identified by the excavators as the stone on which the nine archons took their oath to rule justly in accordance with the laws and to take no bribes. Whoever transgressed was to set up a golden statue.

The statue of Zeus Eleutherios which presumably stood on the round base in front of the Stoa would probably have been a bronze one of more than life size, erected soon after the Persian Wars, perhaps not unlike the heroic bronze statue known as the Zeus of Artemision now in the National Museum (No. 15161).

The statue of Hadrian in armour found east of the Metroon may well be the one mentioned by Pausanias. The head, left forearm, right arm and both legs were missing when the statue was discovered, but most of the right leg was found later near the Odeion. The similarity of decoration on the corselet, when compared with other statues, make the identification practically certain.⁷ The Emperor wears a kilt made of strips of leather with fringed ends, and over this a decorated corselet with pendent lappets. The great cloak is fastened on the right shoulder, crossing the breast, and passing above the left arm falls in a heavy mass behind the figure. The corselet has the unusual figure of Athena standing on the back of the wolf which is suckling the twins, Romulus and Remus, thus combining the emblems of two cities to which Hadrian was particularly devoted.

The temple of Apollo Patroos is mentioned by Pausanias next after the Stoa Eleutherios and said to be "close at hand".⁸ Directly south of

the Stoa described above are the remains of three successive temples, the largest and latest of which was partially excavated by Dr. Dörpfeld in 1896 and 1897 and was identified by him as the Stoa Basileios, an opinion to which he always adhered though later excavators have identified it as the Temple of Apollo.⁹ In the sanctuary of Apollo Patroos, the First Temple was set in the southern part, the Second in the northeastern, and the Third again in the south.

The earliest temple was a small (ca. 13 m. by 8.20 m.) apsidal building facing towards the east. Rock-cuttings and a few field stones of the curved wall have been found in the southern part of the cella of the Third Temple, and a square block lying within the curve may have supported an interior column or may have been a statue-base. This archaic temple, similar to those in other parts of Greece, should be dated at least as early as the middle of the sixth century B.C. Fragments of terracotta moulds for the casting of a small bronze statue of kouros type found in a pit close by at the south may have been for an early cult statue. The building was evidently destroyed by the Persians, and no traces of a fifth-century temple have come to light.

Meanwhile a solidly constructed water-basin had been built immediately to the south of the Stoa, but it was abandoned before completion and the Second Temple was built over it about the middle of the fourth century. It was a simple cella, 5.20 m. by 3.65 m., with a door to the east and two steps leading up to it. No part of the superstructure has been identified, though a block apparently from the foundations for the base of the cult statue has been discovered in the northwestern corner of the cella. In the second century a large porch was added to the temple.

About 4.50 m. east of the Temple and on its axis is the bedding-block for its altar, and farther east was found an altar of Hymettos marble of suitable dimensions which bears the names of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria, deities who we know were closely associated with Apollo Patroos.¹⁰

The Third and largest temple consists of a nearly square cella with a deep portico in front and with the unusual feature of a smaller room to the north which utilises the space behind the Second, much smaller, Temple. The north room was not a later addition, but is structurally a part of the temple, which can be dated at about the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. Little remains except the solid foundations of red conglomerate and parts of the east and north walls of the cella, which were of limestone, stuccoed. As there is no evidence for a stone floor it must have been of packed earth, or possibly mosaic. Two poros blocks found in the cella probably formed part of the underpinning for the base of the cult statue.

The portico was Ionic, probably tetrastyle *in antis*, and the unusual thickness of the lower part of the east wall of the cella seems to indicate

that it allowed for a bench wide enough to support the pedestals of statues, probably those of Apollo by Leochares and of Apollo Alexikakos by Kalamis, which formerly had stood in the open temenos and had been brought inside the portico. The cult-statue of Apollo Patroos by Euphranor occupied the cella.

A headless draped statue of heroic size, an Apollo Kitharoidos, was found in the northern room of the Metroon in 1907 by the Greek Archaeological Society and is now in the National Museum (No. 3573).¹¹ It is unlikely to have been moved far because of its bulk and the freshness of the surface is well preserved. Its unweathered condition also suggests that the statue stood under cover. Its style and workmanship are those of the fourth century and it is identified by some authorities as the Apollo Patroos of Euphranor.

The fact that Pausanias passes straight on from the Temple of Apollo to the Metroon has been useful in helping to identify the position of the latter. Material evidence includes roof tiles inscribed with the name of the Mother of the Gods, as well as a number of small marble reliefs of the types described below.

Bounded on the north by the Apollo Temple and on the south by the Tholos was a group of buildings—the "Metroon-Bouleuterion complex".¹² The largest is the Hellenistic Metroon, to which most of the visible remains belong and which must have been that seen by Pausanias. To the west is the rock-cut platform for the New Bouleuterion, and at the southeast corner of the Hellenistic Metroon are some remains of a Propylon and passage, flanked on the south by a wall and on the north by the Metroon itself, which led to the porch of the New Bouleuterion and the Square to the south of it. This complex represents a combination of cult-place and secular buildings, namely: the site of the worship of the Mother of the Gods, the Bouleuterion or Council House of the Five Hundred, and the place where the state archives were kept.

Under the Hellenistic Metroon are remains of earlier structures which formerly seem to have been independent of each other. These are the Old Bouleuterion beneath the southern part and the Temple of the Mother of the Gods below the northern.

The Old Bouleuterion was almost square, (23·30 m. × 23·80), and consisted of an auditorium and a spacious forehall facing towards the south. The roof was supported by the cross-wall separating the forehall from the auditorium and by five columns resting on piers arranged to form an inner rectangle. Two of the piers were later concealed or destroyed by the front wall of the Hellenistic Metroon, but remains of the three others may still be seen. The seats were probably arranged on a rectangular plan, and it is estimated that the building would hold six hundred people. This Old Bouleuterion, with outer foundation-walls of polygonal limestone and interior foundations of poros, belongs

Because many of its walls are beneath the Tholos it has not been advisable to try to excavate the entire structure, though from existing remains it is possible to reconstruct its general plan.

These remains are the greater part of the wall foundations or the beddings for them, one column base of the inner courtyard, two for the east porch of the main court, four and the impression of a fifth for its south colonnade and two for its north porch (this counts the corner columns twice). The floor levels of courts and rooms are still clearly marked.

The walls had foundations of Acropolis limestone and field stones, with small stones or chips to fill the interstices and an upper part of crude brick. The floors of the rooms were of packed brown clay and those of the court had a fine gravel surface.

The building is a rectangle measuring 27 m. from east to west and 18.50 m. in breadth. At its southwest corner it had to fit round a small building (I) from which it was separated by an alley which could be closed by gates; and in this open corner were also building H and two wells. The northwest corner was open for access to the broiling-pits and a broad doorway in the middle of the north side gave access to the open area and the primitive Bouleuterion.

F was built round a large open court bordered on the north by a series of four rooms and on the south by a series of three. In the north wing the two western rooms opened to the north and gave a passage-way through one of them between the court and the open area beyond. In the south wing the rooms all opened into the court and also into each other. The colonnade of the court had two columns at the east end and seven on the north and south sides. The bases were of limestone and the columns of wood.

To the west was a smaller court with its own group of rooms which appears to have had no direct connection with the large court.

This presumably domestic quarter has a large square room, probably the kitchen, facing south through a broad door and a porch on to the small court already mentioned. The room lies under the Tholos, but among the remains of the porch are a column base, similar to those in the main court, and several flagstones of the small court from whose southeast corner a drain led between the buildings to the Great Drain. In its upper part it was made of cylindrical terracotta pipes with carefully fitted joints and square holes for cleaning, from the alley between F, I and J it was a channel 0.25 m. deep and 0.20 m. wide with walls of field stone covered with slabs.

West of the kitchen suite was a long narrow room divided into two compartments, probably a storeroom, and south of it a small structure (H) with floor reddened by fire and covered with ash, perhaps an oven. Just south of H an unlined shaft was cut in the soft bedrock for a well. It soon collapsed and was replaced by a new one 9.30 m. deep and

0.70 m. in diameter to the west of H which was carefully lined with stones and continued in use for a long time. At the bottom a deposit some 3 m. thick contained great quantities of pottery, terracotta figures, lamps, etc., under the filling thrown in when the well was abandoned.

North of the domestic quarters were two long fire-pits 0.55 m.-0.65 m. by 0.60 m.-0.70 m., plastered with clay and filled at the bottom with a layer of ash and charcoal and animal bones (cows, sheep, goats, pigs, deer) 0.05 m.-0.10 m. thick. They are similar to pits used in Greece to-day for meat roasted on a spit over a bed of coals.

Building activities demolished the north suite and the north and east colonnades of F, and the south wing and domestic quarter were damaged in the Persian War though the latter was necessarily rebuilt and in use until the construction of the Tholos. The pottery found in and beneath the floors of F dates the building shortly after the middle of the sixth century and the pottery from the wells shows that the second well continued in use probably through the Persian occupation and until the Tholos was built at about 470 B.C.

The other archaic structures in this area may be briefly summarised.¹⁵

I is a small one-roomed building round which the southwest corner of F had been carefully fitted. It may have been a shrine in connection with F.

J was a long narrow building to the southeast occupying much the same area as the very early A and was probably intended to compensate for the demolition of the north wing of F. It had a large eastern room with colonnaded front and a western part consisting of a vestibule, three small rooms and one larger. It was built about 500 B.C. and was seriously damaged by the Persians.

The long neglected cemetery was enclosed by walls, probably soon after J was built. A new southwest wall was constructed along the roadway, from which there apparently was access by steps and a gate, and its northeast and northwest sides were enclosed. A small building (K), one room only, tucked into the angle between J and the cemetery, was soon destroyed by the Tholos foundations.

A monument made of two drums of poros, found in the alley between I and J, may have been the base for a small altar.

The archaic structures of this group, situated opposite the early boundary stone of the Agora, appear to have been public buildings and their position in relation to the Tholos indicates that they probably fulfilled much the same functions as the latter until the time of the Persian Wars. They were probably in use during a good part of the sixth century, when building F with its adjacent kitchen would provide ample room for public dinners as well as offices for the transaction of other business.

A Prytaneion as old as the time of the Union under Theseus is

implied by Thucydides and Plutarch. Aristotle says that the chief archon lived there before the time of Solon. This building, like the very ancient Boukolion and the Basileion, was situated on the north slope of the Acropolis, but later when the Boule met in the Agora the prytaneis established a nearby dining hall known as the Prytanikon, which has been identified as the Tholos or Skias.¹⁶

At its northern part the Hellenistic Metroon overlay a small building (6.90 m. by at least 16.50 m.), apparently the oldest Temple of the Mother of the Gods, facing east with its northern side beneath the line of the north wall of the Hellenistic Metroon. It had a long narrow cella with a deep front portico, probably distyle, and was built of granular poros on a foundation of Acropolis limestone. It is a little later than the Early Bouleuterion, and should be dated about 500 B.C. It was destroyed by the Persians and was not rebuilt. Foundations, probably part of an altar connected with the temple, were found immediately to the east beneath the colonnade of the Hellenistic Metroon.

Though there are no remains of a temple belonging to the fifth or fourth centuries nor any reference to an actual naos, the cult of the Mother persisted, and presumably—as in the neighbouring sanctuaries of Zeus and Apollo—centred about a statue, in this case the famous seated image attributed to Pheidias or Agorakritos. Inscriptions and votive offerings found near-by testify to a survival of the cult with its Eleusinian affiliations.

The subsequent reconstruction of the area involved radical changes. At the turn of the fifth and fourth centuries the New Bouleuterion was put farther to the west, while the Hellenistic Metroon covered the areas formerly occupied by the Old Bouleuterion and the cult-place of the Mother of the Gods.

The Hellenistic Metroon consists of four rooms, extending from north to south and fronted on the east by a colonnade of fourteen Ionic columns between antae which opened towards the Market-Place. The north and south walls of the unit including the three southern rooms were built on top of those of the Old Bouleuterion; the foundation of the colonnade almost covered the east foundation of the Old Bouleuterion; while the west wall of the Hellenistic building coincided in part with the earlier one and then had curious jogs so that the two southern rooms were not as long as their next neighbour to the north, while it in turn was shorter than the northernmost room. This arrangement was evidently caused by the need for a passage-way between the Metroon and the New Bouleuterion.

The second room from the south has a peculiar plan, with a substantial cross-wall near its eastern end. Its pronaos-like fore-hall and the altar to the east suggest that it was the actual sanctuary in which stood the cult-statue.

The Metroon-Bouleuterion was the depository for the state archives.

Although by the second half of the fifth century occasional decrees inscribed on marble or other material were set up in or in front of the Bouleuterion and the Metroon, the great majority of documents consisted of papyrus records. Until the end of the fifth century they were stored in the Bouleuterion, but sometime in the last decade of that century the Metroon became the regular place for public documents. This coincides with the date of the building of the New Bouleuterion which probably was used chiefly or exclusively for holding meetings while the Metroon became the place where the documents were stored under the protection of the goddess.

The northern wall of the Hellenistic Metroon overlies the line of the early Temple of the Mother mentioned above. The plan of the north room is extraordinary and has diverged a long way from that of the Temple. It appears to have had a central peristyle court, a colonnaded entrance with steps at either side to the second storey, and a series of three small rooms at the west side. This is very similar to the plan of a Delian house and it may perhaps have served as an official residence. Resident quarters attached to a public building are found in the Library at Pergamon.¹⁷

According to Pausanias the cult-statue of the Great Mother was by Pheidias but Pliny attributes it to his pupil and colleague Agorakritos. Arrian on his travels saw a statue of Rhea of which he says "She holds cymbals in her hand and has lions beneath her throne, and is seated as the statue by Pheidias is seated in the Metroon at Athens".

The fame and popularity of the statue is evident from the large number of votive reliefs representing a seated goddess with these attributes that evidently were copies varying in detail but obviously inspired by the same model. Many were found at the Peiraeus where the goddess had a temple, and many others come from the recent excavations in the Agora. Most of them are the work of ordinary artisans and were probably dedicated by the poorer people. The typical relief is in the form of a small shrine or naiskos with the goddess seated on her throne, generally resting her feet on a high footstool, wearing a polos with a long veil and a chiton and himation, and holding a bossed phiale in her right hand and the tympanum or cymbals in her left. The most usual position for the lion is beneath the throne, but in several examples the goddess holds a small lion in her lap.

Whether the Mother Goddess was a more primitive goddess than Demeter or whether she originally was identical with Demeter, the close affinity between the two is unquestionable, and she certainly retained many of her Demeter-like characteristics after she had assumed some of the attributes of Kybele. A famous inscription concerning first fruits to be dedicated to the Eleusinian deities, though not found *in situ*, was to be set up before the Metroon; the altar of the Heudanemoi (a family with Eleusinian connections) was near the Metroon; naiskoi

with seated figures of Kybele have been found in the Eleusinian sanctuary; and a large number of miniature vases, together with kernoi which are used in the worship of Demeter, were found near the Stoa and may probably be associated with the Magna Mater.¹⁸

The rock-cut level west of the Hellenistic Metroon included the New Bouleuterion, a large Square to the south of it and passages between the northern and western sides of the New Bouleuterion and the scarp of the rock of the Kolonos hill. As this level was somewhat higher than that of the Hellenistic Metroon, broad steps along the east side of the Square afforded communication between the New Bouleuterion, and Tholos and the Market-Place.

The New Bouleuterion was a rectangular building of poros (22.50 m. by 17.50 m.) and faced the east.¹⁹ It had two pairs of interior columns, probably Ionic. The original seats were presumably of wood arranged in a rectangle, or perhaps a polygon, and the entrance to the open floor, or "orchestra", between them was by corridors (paradoi) to north and south. Although the obvious place for a door was in the middle of the east side, it is doubtful whether there was any important entrance from that side so long as the old Bouleuterion stood. The architectural evidence and the pottery date the building at the end of the fifth or early in the fourth century.

At the beginning of the third century alterations were made to include a porch, probably Ionic, at the south end and a remodelling of the interior. Fragments of curved benches of Hymettos marble suggest that the seats may now have been arranged in a semi-circle. It is estimated that there were twelve rows, seating just over five-hundred persons. This corresponds so nearly to the number of members of the Council that there would have been little or no room for outsiders. The building was provided with railings and gates and the councillors sat by letter fixed by lot. The exact arrangement is not known, but at some periods special seats were reserved for the prytaneis (Lys. XIII, 36 f.) and there was a bema or speakers' platform (Antiphon, VI, 40).

Antiphon also mentions a sanctuary of Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia in the Bouleuterion. The priest of these two deities had an inscribed seat in the Theatre of Dionysos. Hestia Boulaia was also worshipped in the Council House and her altar was a place of refuge. Parts of an inscription dedicated to Zeus Bouleus and Hestia Boulaia were found in 1939 in the Valerian Wall and two fragments of others in other parts of the excavations.

Pausanias notes amongst other statues in the Bouleuterion a wooden statue of Zeus, doubtless an archaic *xoanon* which migrated from the Old Bouleuterion to the New. Of an Apollo by Peisias and a Demos by Lyson nothing is known, nor have we any further information about the paintings of the Thesmothetai by Protogenes of Kaunos or of the

general Kalippos by Olbiades except that as they are the last things mentioned by Pausanias before the Tholos, they can only have been on the outside of the southern wall of the Bouleuterion, under the porch, since no other part of the building afforded room for a monumental painting.

The Propylon and the passageway already mentioned formed an imposing approach from the market square to the New Bouleuterion. Enough is left of the foundations of the Propylon—built of poros, conglomerate and Acropolis limestone—to indicate a width of 8.50 m. across the eastern front and a depth of nearly 6 m. It combined Hymettos marble for the step and Pentelic marble for the Ionic columns of the porches, the eastern of which was tetrastyle-prostyle and the west distyle *in antis*. The building was always in a very crowded position between two walls and was ruthlessly cut into when the Hellenistic Metroon was built. The southern boundary of the passage to the New Bouleuterion served also as a terrace wall to adjust the difference in ground level between the passage and the Tholos to the immediate south of it. It is built of orthostates of Acropolis limestone on a conglomerate foundation.²⁰

Alterations were made at a later date in the Bouleuterion Square when the rough scarps were covered by a screen-wall built of re-used blocks and miscellaneous fragments set in crumbly grey mortar. The passages round the western and northern side of the New Bouleuterion were probably closed by cross-walls and a staircase was built down the northern scarp. All these changes seem to belong to the first century A.D., more than a century after the destruction of the area by Sulla, and may perhaps have had some connection with the monumental works undertaken on the east slope of the Kolonos hill.

The most important of these was the broad staircase leading from the Agora to the precinct of Hephaistos and centred on the passageway between the Third Temple of Apollo and the Hellenistic Metroon. Very little of this is left except cuttings in the rock, a few re-used blocks, and a certain amount of filling thrown in behind the earlier rows of benches which occupied the lower part of the slope and once bordered the west side of the Agora. Four of these rows are sufficiently well preserved to show what an excellent view they once afforded of the processions and other activities in the Agora in the days before the Stoa, the Third Temple of Apollo and the Hellenistic Metroon were built.²¹

CHAPTER VI

The Agora—The Tholos and Vicinity

IT was the discovery of the Tholos in 1934 which gave the first positive landmark for the reconstruction of the topography of the Agora and led to a complete revision of preconceived ideas. Its position is much farther north than had been thought.

Fortunately there is no question about its identification. Pausanias says that the Tholos in which the Prytaneis or presidents of the Council met was near the Bouleuterion of the Five Hundred, other literary evidence mentions the round building officially known as the Skias or the Parasol, and the excavators have found inscribed decrees which were to be set up in or near the Skias and many fragments of the official public measures that we know were kept in the building. Literary sources state that the fifty Prytaneis could dine together at public expense in the Tholos and the existing round building is large enough for that number, has an annex for a kitchen and has furnished plentiful remains of pottery which must have served for their table ware.

The Prytaneis also made libations and sacrifices and a recently discovered inscription records the worship of Artemis Boulaia and of the Phosphoroi, female deities associated with the prytaneis and the Tholos and formerly known through inscriptions mentioning their priest. A small statue of Pentelic marble—now only a torso—representing Artemis which was found in the Roman house southeast of the Tholos should doubtless be associated with the precinct of Artemis Boulaia.¹

The Tholos, of which considerable remains are left, was built *ca.* 470 B.C. as soon after the Persian Wars as possible in order to replace by a single building the miscellaneous structures which had preceded it and served for the meeting place of the Prytaneis.

We have already spoken in earlier chapters (pp. 4, 29–30) of the prehistoric remains (chiefly Middle Helladic with a few Late Helladic) and the Geometric cemetery and have noted that the southeast wall of the cemetery was a terrace-wall bordering the very early street that ran along the western side of the Agora. The earliest building (A) in the area adjoined the cemetery and followed the line of the road for its southeast wall. From remains of its foundations buried beneath later structures its length may be estimated as *ca.* 30·50 m. and its present breadth is 6·00 m. It was built of irregular pieces of limestone and field stones bedded in clay and divided into a series of rooms or open courts.

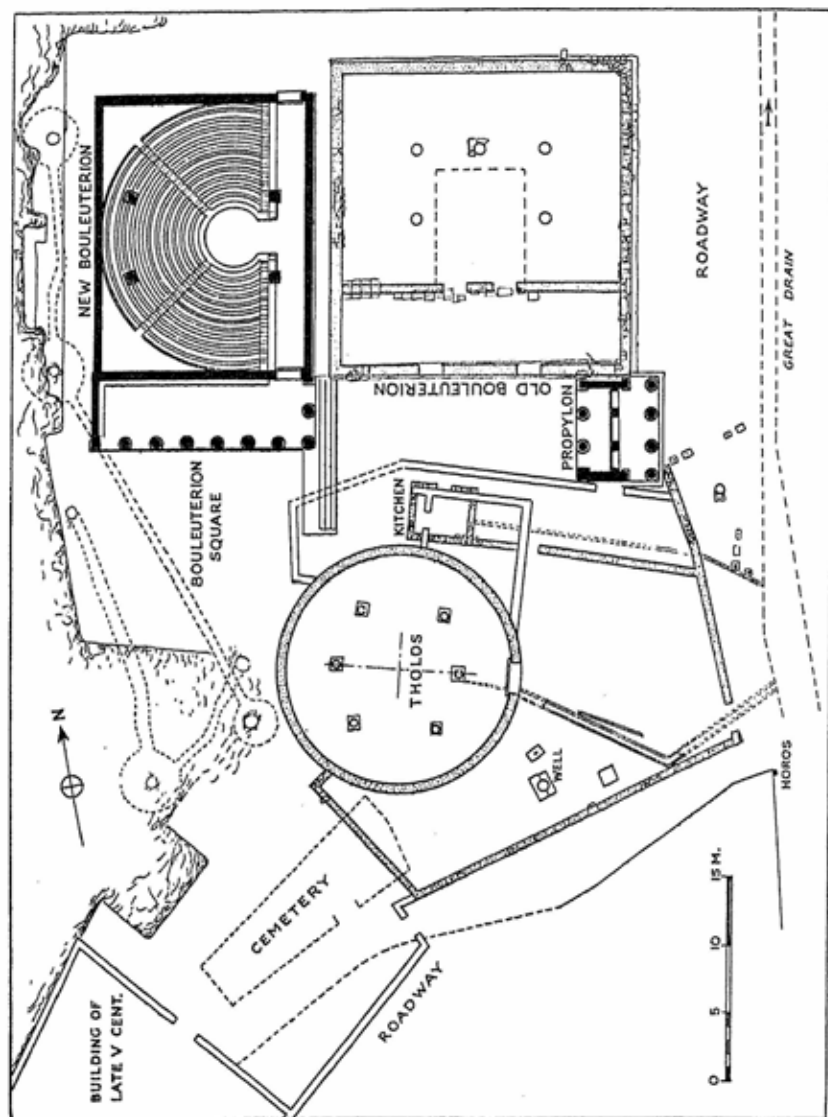


Fig. 10. Tholos Area, Third Century B.C.

In the second compartment from the west enough is left of a potter's kiln for identification. The bonding of the southwest wall of the house with that of the cemetery indicates that they were contemporary and the building may be dated at the end of the eighth or the beginning of the seventh century, after which both the cemetery and the house were abandoned and the area became part of the public highway for a hundred years or so until F was built.

The Tholos² was a building 18.32 m. in diameter with foundation walls of poros, of which several blocks of the lowest course and one of the second are still in position. A pry-hole in the latter's top surface shows that there must have been at least one more course. Above these foundations the walls were of crude brick, stuccoed, and later a string-course of Hymettos marble ran around it, presumably at a suitable height to serve as a window-sill similar to the arrangement in the Pinakothek in the Propylaea. The only indication of a door is at the east end on the axis of the building, but there was probably also one to the north towards the kitchen.

Six interior columns, the stumps of five lying still *in situ* and the lower part of the other northeast of the building, supported the roof. They were not arranged in concentric circles but in east and west groups of three columns each, leaving an open space between the two groups. The unfluted columns are of grey poros with a lower diameter of 0.60 m. and show no trace of stucco. No identifiable capitals have been found, though a small fragment of an Ionic capital discovered in a pit with some tiles from the roof may have come from here.

The original floor, of packed brown clay 0.05 m.—0.10 m. thick, sloped towards the east, but by the beginning of the third century B.C. the accumulations had raised the level some 0.45 m. and the pits dug in it contain ash, charcoal and broken pottery. These untidy habits were then abandoned and the new earth floor was apparently swept clean for the next three centuries or so.

In the middle of the building are traces of a rectangular base which probably supported an altar. A large fragment of a circular altar of Pentelic marble 0.855 m. in diameter and with the height preserved to 0.70 m. found near the southeast corner of the New Bouleuterion may once have belonged here. The upper part is carved with a wreath of laurel leaves and berries and the base moulding is a cyma reversa. The inscription with the name of the divinity is broken away.³

The roof was covered with terracotta tiles of buff clay with a thin wash of buff to greenish fine clay on the top and sides. Many have been found in the rubbish pits, some showing signs of burning. The triangular rain tiles of the eaves were flanged on the under side and cut to grip a band on the cornice and at their upper edges were narrow ridges to stop the water. On the face was a double guilloche with

palmettes inset between the rows, done in black and purple on a cream slip; on the soffit was a bead-and-reel reserved in a black band bordered on either side with purple. Purple is also used for the border of the lower edge of the weather-surface. The lower end of the cover tiles terminates in an antefix with its face in the same plane as that of the eaves tiles. They too were flanged and cut to grip the tiles below them and were probably fastened to the cornice by a metal pin behind the antefixes which were of typical red-figured style with accessories of purple. The large diamond-shaped tiles slightly truncated at the lateral angles were the commonest and their arrangement on the steep converging roof is not entirely clear, as they all appear to be of almost the same size and symmetrical at top and bottom with no smaller ones for the higher rows of the conical roof. Apparently their arrangement was concentric rather than radial and the upper part of the roof may have been covered with bronze. The name *parasol* (*Skias*) indicates that the roof rose smoothly to the top where there probably was a central *akroterion*.

The original Tholos had an annex to the north which probably served as the kitchen, for there is no cooking place in the Tholos itself and the annex to the west (presumably for storage) is a later addition. The north annex overlies the broiling-pits of building F and has a drain at the east which eventually led to the Great Drain. The shape and size of the kitchen changed in the course of time, but except in the case of the early small one which appears to have been a separate rectangular building, the curving wall of the Tholos was utilised for its southern side. Half a dozen fourth-century roof tiles have remains of letters painted on them which may be restored as *demosion*, indicating that they were public property.⁴ Two of the tiles were pierced with oval holes for the escape of smoke.

We must now return to the Tholos and see what changes were made in the original building. The wall which had suffered from a serious fire late in the fifth century was reconstructed to include the string-course already mentioned. It was again severely damaged in late Hellenistic times and apparently rebuilt wholly of brick, since fragments of the stone string-course and wall blocks found in the precinct were evidently never re-used. After the sack of Athens in the third century A.D. the foundations were surrounded by a ring of concrete and the same material was used for the wall.

The packed earth floor continued in use until about the middle of the first century A.D. when it was overlaid by a mosaic floor made of splinters of Pentelic marble set in grey mortar and covered with a thin coat of fine cement painted red. When the floor needed repairs it was patched, generally with thin slabs of Pentelic marble and after a century or so a pavement of marble slabs was laid over the whole surface arranged in the form of a large cross of white Pentelic marble

with arms on the axes of the building, and the angles filled with blue Hymettos marble. The floor slabs differ in size but are arranged in orderly fashion. This floor, like the earlier ones sloped to a drain-hole in the southeast quadrant where one slab has traces of a hole in the shape of a four-petalled rosette with the spaces between the petals cut away.

The columns apparently were still standing at the time of the mosaic floor which encircles the stumps of those still in place, but had been cut down before the floor of slabs was laid, as the stumps are covered by it. No trace has been found of the original shafts or of any others to replace them and the later building appears to have had no interior supports. Their removal may have necessitated a change in the plan of roofing. The original roof suffered severely in the fire at the end of the fifth century, but there is no evidence as to how it was renewed, as no remains of later tiles have been found. The building may even have been roofed in the manner of the round Temple of Vesta in Rome which according to Pliny had a roof of Syracusan bronze.

A great alteration in the appearance of the Tholos was made when a Porch was built at the east in late Hellenistic times. Before that time there had been merely a door at the east and the building is too ruinous for us to know its width or general appearance. Only the foundations of the Porch remain. They are made of conglomerate and re-used pieces of poros and marble with a first step of Hymettos marble preserved in part. The massive foundations indicate that the floor was paved with marble slabs. Nothing is left of the superstructure, but the dimensions of the foundations are more suitable to the Ionic than the Doric order and the Porch has accordingly been restored as tetrastyle prostyle before short side walls.

Standard weights and measures were kept in the Tholos and near by were found fragments of some dozens of terracotta measures and several weights of lead or bronze, all marked with the official emblems (owl, dolphin, etc.). The terracotta measures were stamped with the seal of Athens, identical with coin types bearing the head of Athena and the owl, and the word ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ was painted in large black letters round the upper part.

The area around the Tholos was enclosed by a wall *ca.* 0.45 m. thick, made of limestone and poros set in clay mortar, and except on its northern side was much the same in plan for many centuries.⁶ The wall left the southeast quadrant of the Tholos and soon cut across the Cemetery to follow the line of the old road for some 17 m. when it ran northwards, to the corner of F and then westwards to the early kitchen.

The first important change was made when the north wall was moved 5 m. farther north to bound a passage to the New Bouleuterion between the Tholos and the Old Bouleuterion. When the New

Bouleuterion Porch and Propylon were built in the third century, a new north wall parallel to the south side of the Old Bouleuterion gave a symmetrical passageway from the Propylon to the New Bouleuterion.

The Tholos precinct was enlarged in the Late Hellenistic time by setting its southeast wall on the old line of the west branch of the Great Drain after this branch had been shifted farther east to allow room for the Doric Propylon described below and a fountain was set against the wall to face the Tholos.

The foundations of the fountain are built of re-used blocks of conglomerate and poros, some of them from the wall of the Tholos. They form a rectangle 3 m. by 3.41 m. with the lowest block on the axis of the foundation at its back edge where there was a passage for a feed-pipe. Nothing is left of the superstructure. The fountain is later than the enclosure wall and may be dated in the latter part of the first century B.C.

The eastern angle of the precinct was occupied by a large rectangular Exedra 5.50 m. by 9.50 m., whose orientation conforms to the western face of the terrace wall of the large Middle Stoa on the other side of the road and the boundary stone of the Agora. The massive foundations of its east, west and south sides were made of two courses of conglomerate laid as headers and stretchers. The building belongs to the latter part of the first century B.C. The other monuments uncovered in the precinct consist chiefly of bases for statues or altars.

The need for a water supply was always urgent.⁶ We have already spoken of the two wells that furnished water for the predecessors of the Tholos. Another well is southeast of the Tholos, inconveniently far from the kitchen but at a spot where there were the best springs. Apparently the builders had learnt nothing from the previous experience of others and left the walls of the well unlined so that it soon collapsed and was used as a rubbish pit in which were roof tiles from the Tholos, millstones, vases and lamps, along with ash and charcoal.

After this lesson the engineers dug their wells on the side of Kolonos in the harder rock, one near the west edge of the Bouleuterion Square, another southwest of the Tholos and when the water supply proved inadequate a reservoir was made by transforming the southern well into a flask-shaped chamber connected by a tunnel with the northern well and also with a new shaft cut west of the Tholos. This reservoir was never completed, though material found in the wells suggests their use until the early third century B.C., when a new complex of cisterns cut in the solid rock and plastered with hydraulic cement took its place and continued to be used into the first century.

Water for the Square of the New Bouleuterion came from the region of Kolonos Agoraios first by means of a pipe-line laid in a tunnel. A large rectangular fountain at the south side of the Square with a basin

at the back and a colonnade in front, was built later and can have been in use only a short time, as the first-century screen wall round the Square overlies its ruinous foundations. Near the Propylon of the New Bouleuterion three successive fountains have been recognised.

The Doric Propylon⁷ south of the Tholos precinct was a monumental gateway, 6.22 m. broad, leading westwards to Kolonos Agoraios, with conglomerate foundations set in the old channel of the Great Drain. The euthynteria was of re-used poros, the two steps of Hymettos marble and the floor of marble slabs. The two surviving blocks of the stylobate show marks of Doric columns with 20 flutes and the building may be restored as a tetrastyle on the east front and no columns on the west face. Fragments of the entablature show that it was of poros, stuccoed white. After going through the Propylon one passed along the south side of the Tholos enclosure to a stairway that led up to Kolonos hill. It had four steps of stone or marble and on the shoulder of the rock above are cuttings for a small rectangular building, which was probably another roofed gateway. This imposing entrance south of the Tholos enclosure counterbalances the one to the north, and both afforded convenient access to the hill on which stands the Hephaisteion.

A large late Roman house of familiar type with at least ten rooms was found to the southeast of the Tholos. It was in a very fragmentary condition and was destroyed in order to allow earlier foundations beneath it to be investigated.⁸

With the Tholos we come to the last of the buildings actually on the west side of the Agora. East of the Tholos the road forks into the two branches mentioned before, one of which goes southwest towards the western end of the Areopagus and the other southeast and then east. A boundary stone stands at the parting of the two ways.⁹ It is a post of white marble 1.20 m. \times 0.31 m. \times 0.19 m. set down through the earlier layer to bedrock into a hole 0.20 m. deep. The next higher stratum contains ostraka with the names of Hippokrates and Themistokles which may be dated at 482 B.C. The stone was concealed by the higher level in classical times.

The broad northeast face has a smoothed band across the top and down the right side are inscribed in archaic letters of the close of the sixth century the words "I am the boundary of the Agora".

CHAPTER VII

The Agora—South, East and North Borders

ON the south side of the Agora, near its western end is a square fountain-house with a portico on its northern and western sides and two inner corridors with drainage-basins at the base of the partition walls in which the spouts delivering water from a source to the southeast would have been placed. The material and construction in its earliest parts indicate a sixth-century date and it undoubtedly was an important feature of the water-system of Peisistratean times.¹

It was but natural to identify it with the Enneakrounos or Nine Spouts which Pausanias speaks of as being near the Odeion and consequently in the Agora. He attributes its construction to Peisistratos, and says that though there were many wells throughout the city, this was the only spring. The matter of identification would be simple enough were Pausanias our only source of information, but the Enneakrounos was a famous spring and is mentioned by other ancient writers. The attempts to reconcile all their statements with each other as well as with the results of the discoveries of the last half-century or so have led to confusion worse confounded.

Thucydides includes in the southeast quarters of Athens "the fountain now called Enneakrounos or the nine conduits from the form given it by the tyrants, but originally, before the streams were covered in, Kallirhoe or the Fair Stream". The spring Kallirhoe in the bed of the Ilissos, below the Temple of Olympian Zeus, goes by that name to this day and legends of the rude Pelasgians from neighbouring Hymettos swooping down on the maidens at the fountain are many. The Thucydidean Kallirhoe converted to Enneakrounos cannot be the same as the Enneakrounos of Pausanias, who says nothing of the earlier name and all the legends connected with it, though it is just the sort of thing that would have interested him. Frazer was one of the first to state that the Enneakrounos of Thucydides could not be the same as that of Pausanias, but many other scholars preferred to believe either that Pausanias had made an unparalleled digression in his orderly and systematic tour of the sights or that the passage in Pausanias really referred to the Ilissos but had got out of place and had been inserted into the middle of his chapters on the Agora. The matter was further complicated by Dr. Dörpfeld's discovery of an intricate water system, including a fountain, east of the Pnyx, and identified by him as the Enneakrounos, situated in what he regarded as the oldest Agora

to the west of the Acropolis.² This fountain will be discussed in the chapter about the Pnyx.

The southern boundary of the Agora was a long narrow building now known as the South Stoa, 7 m. in width and 118 m. in length, with a floor of hard-packed earth. The front, or northern, wall is preserved to the level of the setting-course and the spacing of the 39 columns can be determined by the heavier foundations for them.

The back wall, which also served as a retaining wall for a terrace to the south, is preserved in places to a height of 5 m. and has a rectangular niche at the centre.³

Before the discovery of the South Stoa a more imposing building, 147 m. long by 18.30 m. wide, now known as the "Middle Stoa"⁴ but first called the "South Stoa" because it was thought to mark the southern limit, had been found at a distance of *ca.* 30 m. north of the real South Stoa and parallel to it.

The foundations were of large blocks of red conglomerate, faced with poros. At the eastern end the lower drums of three unfluted Doric columns remain on the stylobate. The building may be restored as a peripteral structure with 73 columns on the sides and 9 on the flanks. The columns were joined by screens *ca.* 0.25 m. thick and at least as high as the lowest drums and the building was divided longitudinally by 23 columns or piers joined by walls. Fragments of most of the members of the poros entablature have been found. The sima with lion-head spouts was of terracotta as were the palmette antefixae.

The stoa was built in the middle of the second century B.C., contemporary with the later Metroon and the Stoa of Attalos, was destroyed in the sack by the Heruli and had some of its pieces built into the "Valerian Wall". In the fourth century A.D. a Roman bath was built upon it.

Excavations since the war have cleared the well-preserved west end of the stoa with its high retaining wall bounding the road and the western part of its north wall against which stood a small Roman building with three rooms graduated in size so as to interfere as little as possible with traffic through the southwest part of the Agora.

The east room had a porch facing north, the middle room a doorway to the north, and the west room could be reached only through the middle one. In the angle between the west and the middle room was a small chamber accessible from the middle room. A terracotta drain suggests that this was probably a wash-room. In front of the north wall of the middle room a pedestal of two poros blocks with cuttings in the top for stelai, supported two orthostates of Pentelic marble with reliefs of Lakonian tiles, which evidently served as a set of standards for the making of terracotta tiles. The official bureau of weights and measures was across the road in the Tholos and this appears to have been a supplementary civic building.

A large monument at the western end of the terrace of the Middle Stoa was eventually replaced by a stairway up to the terrace and east of the Stoa the Panathenaic way had been broadened into a sort of plaza bounded on the west by a narrow screen-like building that closed the open area between the Middle and South Stoa.

The eastern boundary of the Agora was formed for the most part by the Stoa of Attalos. The Panathenaic Way which crossed the Agora diagonally from northwest to southeast is flanked on the east for much of its course from the Agora to Klepsydra by the "Valerian Wall" built mostly of re-used material with faces of heavy marble blocks enclosing a central filling 2.25 m. wide and crammed with architectural members including cornices, capitals and column drums, often built into the face of the wall and sometimes bearing letters that indicate their original position. Many fragments came from the Temple of Arcs, the Metroon, the Middle Stoa and the Odeion. The part of this wall which ran through the Agora has now been removed. A great quantity of older material was also found built into some of the towers which occur at intervals, and a water-mill was constructed in the angle between a tower and the wall close by the library of Pantainos.⁶

On both sides of the wall the area contains many cisterns, wells, conduits and water-pipes (some of the sixth century B.C.) and the whole neighbourhood presented a chaotic mass of miscellaneous material until the wall was removed and the area put in order, thus entirely freeing the two important buildings of the eastern boundary. These are the Stoa of Attalos built in the second century B.C. and the Roman Library of Pantainos⁶ which is divided from it by a paved street leading eastwards.

For topographical reasons we may begin with the latter, as it lies farther south, nearer the buildings already described. Under the "Valerian Wall" and the Chapel of St. Spyridon (taken down after its late Byzantine frescoes had been safely removed) was a large Roman building facing west on the Panathenaic Way with foundations of stone and upper part of stuccoed brick. It consisted of a peristyle court surrounded by rooms on all sides but the southern. The east side probably included the principal rooms of the building but is still buried deep in the zone reserved for the Greek archaeologists. To the west are five rooms, each ca. 4.30 m. by 5 m., with a passage through the central one into the court. The western façade has a portico 35 m. long by 5.20 m. deep with nine Ionic columns. Remains of a portico on the north side are orientated to suit the street and not the Library.

Built into the Valerian Wall was a lintel block that exactly fits the principal entrance door of the western façade and bears an inscription stating that T. Flavius Pantainos and his children had from his own means dedicated the outer stoas, the peristyle, the library with its

books and all the decorations in the building to Athene Polias and to the Emperor Trajan. The inscription may be dated *ca.* A.D. 100 and the donor is presumably the Pantainos who was archon shortly after A.D. 102. This building, as well as the Stoa of Attalos, must have stood here in Pausanias's time, but neither is mentioned by him.

Running east and west at right angles to the Panathenaic Way was a street which divided the Library of Pantainos from the Stoa of Attalos and led to the Roman market. The marble pilasters of a large portal stand at the east end. A small outlet for a pipe on the west face of the south pilaster and the discoloured condition of the marble suggest that a fountain with a lion's head spout of bronze may have stood there. The threshold was a large marble block with cuttings for swinging gates. Steps led up to the street which was at a higher level than the end of the Stoa of Attalos and had a drainage gutter along the south side bounded for the most part by the stepped north porch of the Library. At the south side of the steps is a large monument base 5.20 m. square apparently closely contemporary with the Library.

The Stoa of Attalos⁷ is the only building in the Agora which had been positively identified before the recent excavations. In those begun in 1859 by the Greek Archaeological Society there was found part of an inscribed epistyle recording the dedication of the building by King Attalos II of Pergamon who reigned from 159-138 B.C. and was a member of a family of monarchs famous for their generosity to Athens. The greater part of the Stoa was uncovered at that time but many problems remained unsolved and the decision to utilise it for the Agora Museum made a thorough study of the building and its surroundings desirable. It has now been cleared to bed rock, the "Valerian Wall" has been removed and many fragments recovered from it and the surrounding area has been laid bare and tidied up, thus increasing our information about earlier structures beneath the Stoa as well as of the architecture of the building itself.

The Stoa as completed had been extended northwards *ca.* 14.50 m. beyond its original plan and measures over all *ca.* 116.50 m. by 19.40 m. It is built chiefly of poros on foundations of breccia and has orthostates and door frames of Hymettos marble and columns of Pentelic. The building had two storeys. The portico was raised three steps above the broad terrace which ran along its entire front and was double with 45 Doric columns on the façade and 22 Ionic interior columns dividing it into two nearly equal aisles. Behind the colonnade on each floor was a row of 21 (originally 18) rectangular shops with a door from each into the colonnade. The shops were also lighted by windows in the east wall and in Roman times mezzanine floors were inserted in many of them. Old drawings of the northern end of the Stoa show that it was finished with a gable and that near the middle

of the gable end was an opening framed by pilasters, probably to light the well of the stairs leading to the upper storey.

The Stoa of Attalos was not the first building to occupy this site. In front of the eighth and ninth shops from the south end are at least two rooms of a building of the early second century B.C. which was demolished when the Stoa was built. Beneath the northern half of the Stoa and at a floor level 3.40 m. below that of the colonnade are parts of the foundations of a large courtyard 39 m. square, surrounded on all four sides by a peristyle 9.50 m. wide with no traces of closed rooms at the back. The floor of brown clay sloped slightly northwards to carry the water off by means of two drainage tunnels below the northern colonnade. The lower foundations were of conglomerate and the euthynteria of poros. The accompanying pottery indicates that the building belongs to the later fourth or early third century B.C. This building is orientated differently from the Stoa of Attalos, apparently to conform with the line of the road bounding the Agora on the north, and has been identified as a market or a gymnasium (that of Ptolemy has been suggested but there is no definite evidence for it). If the former, it seems to have been replaced by the Stoa of Attalos, the Middle Stoa and the South Stoa, and still later by the Roman Market of Augustus which is also a peristyle. At a distance of 0.75 m. under the square market was a gravelled court of an earlier establishment which has the imprints of a stone water channel with square basins at intervals of ca. 8.50 m. The pottery shows it to have been late fifth or early fourth century B.C.

Deep under the north end of the Stoa was a late archaic circular poros bedding 1.35 m. in diameter, presumably for an altar, fenced with a ring of posts. Its position indicates that it was important but there is no clue to its identity. In the earth fill of the Stoa under the northern part of the colonnade were several fragments of L.H. III pottery and scraps of bone, perhaps from a Mycenaean grave.

The only literary mention of the Stoa is by Athenaeus who says that when Athenion was about to harangue the people he mounted on the bema which had been built for the Roman generals in front of the Stoa of Attalos. A massive rectangular foundation measuring 8.50 m. by 5.95 m. just west of the Stoa and aligning with it has been identified as the bema.

This was not the only large structure west of the terrace. The large foundation (5.70 m. \times 6.20 m. at its lowest part) jutting forward from about the middle of the terrace and previously restored as a stairway has now been identified as the underpinning for the pedestal of a bronze quadriga, most of whose blocks of Hymettos marble had been reused in building the "Valerian Wall". Some of them from the topmost course have holes for the insertion of the horses' feet. An inscription on the pedestal records a dedication to the Emperor

Tiberius, but since the foundation is contemporary with the Stoa, it seems that, as in the case of the monument to Agrippa at the entrance to the Acropolis, a memorial originally dedicated to a Pergamene monarch was later given to a Roman.

The majority of the abundant monuments that used the Stoa terrace as a background consist merely of foundations for pedestals, but one from the extreme northern end has four drums of an unfluted column of Hymettos marble with masons' marks on them making it possible to restore the column as 7.19 m. in height with a lower diameter of *ca.* 0.88 m. This was probably topped by a Corinthian capital (like the columns above the Theatre of Dionysos) but instead of carrying a tripod bore the statue which an inscription on the bottom drum shows was that of Q. L. Catulus (d. 61 B.C.) who perhaps came to Athens with Sulla.

Another base retrieved by the excavations was that for the seated statue of the philosopher Karneades dedicated by his pupils Attalos and Ariarathes, later the rulers of Pergamon and Cappadocia and brothers-in-law. This may have been the famous statue of Karneades referred to by Cicero in *de Finibus*, V.2.

Also west of the terrace was found part of the poros foundations and three blocks of the white marble cornice of a small round building 8.10 m. in diameter. A fragment of brick and concrete shows the spring of the vault. The cornice has dentils with astragal above, the soffit has scrolls and flowers and the sima has lotus leaves alternating with lions' heads. It probably belongs to the second century A.D.⁸

The area to the east of the Stoa, where a long cutting varying from 10 m. to 20 m. wide and bounded on its east side by an earth scarp and poorly built retaining wall supporting the modern street that runs north and south above, had been dug during the Greek excavations. It was thoroughly examined and a new retaining wall built. The most conspicuous remains belong to a large building, 80 m. of which are exposed in the cut, with concrete foundations running north and south, and at least five compartments. The room at the southwest corner had a marble floor, later repaired with mosaic. Parallel to the missing west wall were the bases of three Ionic columns 0.56 m. in diameter resting on marble plinths spaced 2.84 m. apart which may have belonged to a peristyle court. The orientation (like the old square building and the Library of Hadrian) follows the line of the ancient road north of the Agora. It dates *ca.* the second century A.D. and though it has not been identified it might possibly be the Gymnasium of Hadrian listed by Pausanias (who is the only literary evidence for it) among Hadrian's buildings in Athens and mentioned just after his Library.

Part of a long stoa running east and west extends across the eastern end of the north side of the Agora and nearly touches the northwest corner of the terrace-wall of the Stoa of Attalos, being separated from

it by a passageway only 2.65 m. wide. The foundation walls of its southern side measured 26.60 m. by 7 m. and its north wall and western end have been destroyed by the cutting for the electric railway. A portion of the lowest of the three Hymettos marble steps of the south façade remains in place near the eastern end. Sufficient fragments of the superstructure have survived to show that it had unfluted columns of greenish-white Karystos marble with Ionic capitals of Pentelic marble clearly patterned after those of the Erechtheion. The arrangement was probably prostyle rather than *in antis* and the spacing would call for 11 columns. The numerous though small fragments of architraves, dentils, a marble antefix and revetment suggest a rich decoration and the style resembles that of the Temple of Rome and Augustus on the Acropolis which is dated *ca.* 27-18 B.C.

The western end of the Stoa was presumably not far from the Acharnaean Gate leading in from the north and the line of its back wall if extended westward would skirt the northeast corner of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods and the north end of the Stoa of Zeus and be in line with the southern edge of the road leading between the Sanctuary of Demos and the Graces on the south and the narrow Augustan Stoa on the north⁹ (see p. 37).

The more western part of the northern boundary of the Agora was probably occupied by the Stoa Poikilé.¹⁰ Several score of architectural fragments of brown poros (all but one of them Doric) were recovered when a late wall in the northeastern part of the Agora was demolished. They included a fluted column drum, an anta capital, architrave, triglyphs, horizontal cornice, wall blocks and the crowning course of one of them. Many still have traces of painted designs applied directly to the poros surface (one Doric column drum was stuccoed). The best preserved is the anta capital, 0.45 m. high by 0.79 m. by 0.465 m., from which the decoration can be accurately restored.

The types of the mouldings are earlier than those of the Parthenon and may be compared to those of the Temple of Hephaistos and the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi and dated *ca.* 460 B.C.

The building from which they came can with all probability be identified with the Stoa Poikilé and another point in favour of this is the preparation of some of the wall blocks for iron pins (some stumps of which remain) for holding the wooden panels with the renowned paintings described by Pausanias.

The Stoa Poikilé was one of the most famous buildings in Athens and was known also as the Stoa Peisianakteios after its builder Peisianax, the brother-in-law of Kimon. Pausanias visits it immediately after he has been to the Temple of Hephaistos and the sanctuary of Heavenly Aphrodite.

It was one of the favourite haunts of the philosophers and got its name Poikilé from the paintings on its walls. These included two

historical scenes—the battle of Oinoe by an unknown painter and the battle of Marathon by Panainos the brother of Pheidias, and two mythological subjects—the battle between Theseus and the Amazons by Mikon and the Capture of Troy by Polygnotos. With such a combination of popular subjects and famous painters it is small wonder that the renown of the Stoa Poikilé was great and that these paintings doubtless inspired many of the vase paintings which have come down to us.

Within the portico were bronze shields, some taken from the Scionians in 421 B.C. and others from the Lakedaimonian prisoners on the island of Sphakteria. A badly crushed but nearly complete fine bronze oval shield (0.95 m. × 0.83 m.) found in a cistern south of the Hephaisteion seems to be a relic of the long blockade. The rim is bordered with an elaborate guilloche design, and the smooth convex surface is inscribed with carelessly punched letters which read:

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ | ΑΠΟΛΑΚΕΔ | ΑΙΜ[ΟΝ]ΙΩΝ | ΕΚ [ΤΥ]ΛΟ

Although the next to the last letter is not clearly defined, the most reasonable restoration of the final word is ΤΥΛΟ, which would refer to the Athenian victory at Sphakteria in 424 B.C. In front of the Portico stood a bronze statue of Solon and a little farther away was one of Seleucus.

The area between the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa Poikilé known as "The Herms" was closely connected with the activities of the cavalry in the Panathenaic Procession where the knights made the round of the Agora from the Herms and back again. The Bryaxis base (p. 43), found very near the north end of the Stoa Basileios, was erected by a father and two sons, all of whom had been winners in the cavalry display called Anthippasia, which may have been a part of the Panathenaic Procession.¹¹

The Herms were said to extend from the Stoa Poikilé and the Stoa Basileios, which would suggest that a row went northward from each stoa and flanked the sides of an open space at the top end of the Dipylon Road. The Hermae were the familiar pillars surmounted by busts of the bearded Hermes, other gods or famous men. They usually stood in front of the doors of houses and it was the mutilation of some of these on the eve of the Sicilian Expedition that led to the arrest of several prominent citizens supposed to be implicated. Besides the Street of the Hermae ancient writers mention a Stoa of the Hermae of which nothing further is known.

Pausanias does not mention the Street of the Hermae but he does say that on the way to the Stoa Poikilé was a bronze Hermes called Agoraios, of the Market, and near it a gate surmounted by a trophy.¹² The Hermes Agoraios was a very well known statue referred to often by ancient writers as archaic in style and so much admired that artists were always making casts from it and that in consequence it was

generally covered with pitch. The Gate which Pausanias saw has not been identified.

Another important monument on the north side of the Agora is the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods,¹³ whose southwest corner was discovered in 1934 about 40 m. east of the Stoa of Zeus. It is an enclosure with entrances on the east and west sides within which stood the altar dedicated by Peisistratos the Younger in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C. It was a place of asylum and also the central milestone from which distances were measured.

A good part of the peribolos has been cut away by the electric railway, but investigations beneath the tracks made it possible to estimate its size. It was a rectangle 9.85 m. by 9.35 m. surrounded by a parapet with eight alternating posts and upright slabs to a side and it remained essentially the same for centuries. In its earliest form it had a floor of earth and posts resting on a poros foundation. It was destroyed by the Persians and rebuilt some fifty years later with the addition of a course of limestone, new posts and a floor paved with poros blocks. The arrangement with posts finds a parallel in the long narrow base for the statues of the Eponymous Heroes opposite the Metroon, which however had rails in place of slabs. Several re-used fragments of poros, two with traces of red paint on them, probably belong to the original altar.

Pausanias does not mention the Altar of the Twelve Gods but he does speak of the Altar of Pity just after he has described the statues in front of the Stoa Poikilé and this led Wilamowitz to suggest that the two altars were identical. All the references to the Altar of Pity post-date the fourth century when the dedications to the Twelve Gods cease and it may well be that the old name was replaced by the new one. Many famous Hellenistic and Roman altars, such as the Ara Pacis, had their principal decoration on the enclosure rather than the altar itself and the slabs may have been adorned first with reliefs representing the Twelve Gods and later by scenes appropriate to themes of Pity.

A base of Pentelic marble, in the top surface of which are dowel cuttings for a bronze statue with the right foot slightly advanced, stood *in situ* just west of the enclosure. On the smooth band at the top of the front face is the inscription "Leagros, son of Glaukon, dedicated to the Twelve Gods". The letters are firmly cut in the style of the early fifth century, and Leagros is probably to be identified with the popular youth mentioned in the *kalos* inscriptions who became a general and died in Thrace in 464 B.C.¹⁴

A round marble base with figures of the Twelve Gods in low relief, found in 1877 near the church of St. Philip across the railway and now in the National Museum, may have been associated with the Sanctuary, though its relatively small proportions (0.83 m. in diameter and 0.44 m. in height) are more appropriate for a private dedication than an official monument.¹⁵

CHAPTER VIII

The Agora—Central Part, The Temple of Ares, the Odeion

THIS completes the survey of the buildings which surrounded the Agora in the time of Pausanias. Probably there were no formal southern and eastern boundaries before the Hellenistic period and the whole area was open beyond the line of the western buildings. They faced one of the oldest streets bordered on the opposite side by the bases of many statues. Other monuments were placed in different parts of what probably was an open square. The many resemblances in methods of construction between the Hellenistic Metroon and the Stoa of Attalos indicate that they were practically contemporary and perhaps part of a plan of reconstruction of the Agora in which the South Stoa was also included.¹

Later a large portion of the eastern part, north of the Middle Stoa, was occupied by the Odeion, while the Temple of Ares occupied the ground farther to the northwest, but there still was ample room for many monuments of a moderate size, some of which are known from literary sources but cannot be exactly placed, others are actual remains found during the excavations but for which there is inadequate information for identification.

According to Pausanias the Temple of Ares was near the statue of Demosthenes which we know from other sources was near the Altar of the Twelve Gods. Among the statues near it was that of Pindar already noted in front of the Stoa Basileios, and not far away was the group of Harmodios and Aristogeiton which, according to Arrian, stood opposite the Metroon.²

The foundations of the Temple of Ares were identified in 1937 a little northwest of the Odeion in a rectangular pit some 2.60 m. below the present level of the Agora.³ Five courses of squared poros blocks had once been spread flat over the entire surface. Many of them were in place, others were recovered from mediaeval or modern buildings in the vicinity. They had evidently been re-used and had come for the most part from a fifth century building which, judging from the masons' letters on the blocks and from the structural methods employed, was carefully rebuilt in its present position in early Roman times. Numerous fragments of the floor, epistyle, triglyphs, metopes, cornice, sima, etc., of a marble temple of suitable dimensions and date which were found in and near the foundations, in the Valerian wall and elsewhere had evidently been used to reconstruct the building in as nearly its original form as possible.

The temple rested on a stepped platform and measured 15·88 m. by 34·718 m. on the stylobate. It was hexastyle peripteral with thirteen columns on the long sides. Their lower diameter can be estimated at *ca.* 1·108 m. and presumably the height was $5\frac{1}{2}$ or 6 diameters, the usual ratio in other contemporary temples. The raking and lateral simas are sufficiently well preserved to show profiles strikingly similar to those of the Hephaisteion. The flanking sima had a row of lions' heads and there is a cutting for the base of an akroterion on the lower right corner of a piece of façade sima.

The plan of the cella cannot be determined because the foundations are solid and give no indication of the position of the walls, but because of other close affinities with the Hephaisteion the restoration follows its plan. There seems little or no doubt that the same architect was

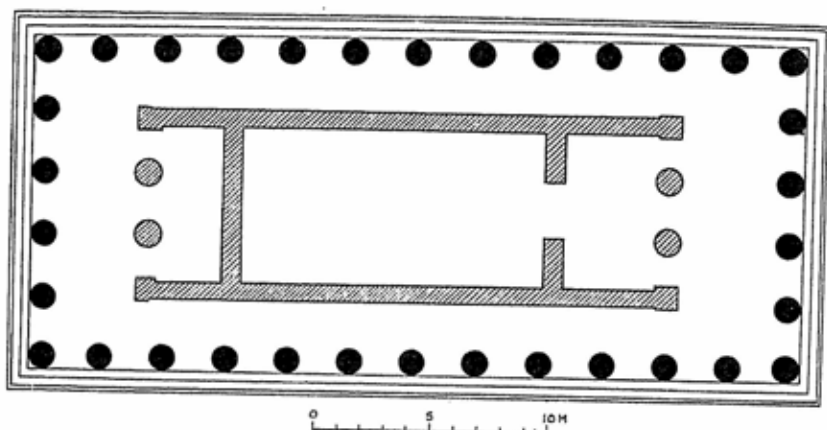


Fig. 11. The Temple of Ares, Restored Plan

responsible for both buildings, and the temples at Sounion and Rhamnous have also been attributed to him. The sequence of the buildings and relative dates are given by Professor Dinsmoor⁴ as follows: Hephaisteion, 449-444 B.C.; Sounion, 444-440 B.C.; Ares, 440-436 B.C.; Rhamnous, 436-432 B.C.

It is evident that this was a fifth century building carefully taken to pieces and re-erected in early Roman times. The construction of the Roman Agora—begun under Julius Caesar and carried on by Augustus and his grandsons—involved much more space than was included in the Greek Agora, and any older buildings in the way of proposed improvements had necessarily to be removed.

A good part of what had been an open space in Greek times was now occupied by the Odeion and one of the buildings removed to make room for it may have been the Temple of Ares. Its old site can only be conjectured.

On the axis of the Temple at a distance of 10 m. from the eastern front is a rectangular foundation of large re-used blocks of poros measuring 6.30 m. by 8.95 m. overall, clearly to be identified as the Altar of Ares. The way the blocks are laid shows that the eastern three-fifths of the foundation supported the altar and the remaining part was occupied by steps which did not extend across the whole width of the monument. A large battered orthostate of Pentelic marble and some fragments of richly carved mouldings may have come from the superstructure.

A bearded male head and two fragmentary female heads of Pentelic marble and parts of two female torsos, all in high relief and of fifth-century style, found here may probably be associated with the Altar since their scale (two-thirds life size) is unsuitable for the Temple. They perhaps belonged to a parapet surrounding the Altar.

Foundation pits for two large monuments south of the Temple of Ares and a terrace along its northern flank probably were for some of the monuments referred to by Pausanias as near the temple.

Near the northeast corner of the temple terrace the Panathenaic Way (bordered by a stone water channel) bends slightly to avoid a large early fifth-century monument-base of poros on its western side. A similar base found on the opposite side had been moved there in the early Roman period.

The building of the Odeion⁵ made a vast difference in the appearance of the central part of the Agora, formerly an open space in which stood the old Orchestra or dancing place, possibly some smallish buildings and many statues.

This change took place in the Augustan period and seems to have been part of an ambitious plan for the transfer of the market-place farther east and the clearing away of the obstructions so that the southern part of the Agora might be rebuilt largely on the lines adopted in the Roman Fora where the great colonnaded buildings on three sides were grouped with a dominating structure in the centre of the fourth side, dividing that part of the Forum into smaller areas to right and left. The arrangement was secured by placing the Odeion in an axial position midway between the Stoa of Attalos on the east and the Metroon on the west in front of the centre of the Middle Stoa which closed off the southern side of the Agora.

The existing remains of the Odeion have made it possible to restore its form as originally built in the late first century B.C. and again when it was remodelled in the second century A.D. In spite of the devastation in later times and the use of the site for other buildings, the Odeion was too large and the foundations too deep to be entirely swept away and considerable parts of them, especially at the south-eastern corner and northern front, still remained *in situ*. A great many architectural fragments were built into the large building that later covered the site,

and into the "Valerian Wall" or were found lying about in the earth nearby. They were parts of capitals and bases from Corinthian columns or antae, stylobate, architrave, frieze, cornice, antefixes and roof tiles, both of terracotta and of marble. The former were very numerous and enough of them bore stamps to show that they were used in both periods of the building.

In the first period the Odeion consisted of a central core, composed of auditorium, stage building and lobby, surrounded on the east, south and west by a balcony supported on a basement storey and at the same level as the terrace of the Middle Stoa to which the Odeion was closely related, and with a porch measuring 7.60 m. by 5.40 m. overall at the centre of the northern side. The unit for the lay-out of the building was the columnar spacing of 3.83 m., with eight by ten for the outer rectangle, seven by seven for the auditorium, seven by one for the stage and seven by two for the lobby. The balcony was originally intended to be two units broad but was actually built slightly wider.

The central core of the building was enclosed on the north, east and west sides by a thin wall reinforced at intervals by Corinthian pilasters projecting both inwards and outwards, and on the south side by a Corinthian colonnade. The north and south ends of the building were built with pediments. The pilasters rose from the level of the roof of the balcony, thus giving the general effect of a central temple-like structure raised high above the surrounding colonnaded loggias.

The original auditorium was 25 m. square. The orchestra measured less than a semi-circle and had a small monument, presumably an altar, near the middle. It was paved with slabs sawn to a thickness of 0.01 m.-0.03 m. and very carefully laid with coloured marbles including white Pentelic, grey-blue Hymettos, greenish-white Karystos, and purple-and-white or pink-and-white island marble. Red and yellow limestone and a black slate-like stone also were used. The floor was divided into three areas; a central rectangle flanked on either side by a triangle, each outlined and separated by a broad band of green-veined marble. The central rectangle was composed of four large square panels arranged in pairs on either side of narrower strips and filled with rectilinear patterns, such as lozenges, triangles and chevrons.

In the cavea there were eighteen rows of benches arranged in a gentle slope and reached by seven stairways. The seats were made of solid blocks of Hymettos marble as were the two surviving blocks from a stairway. The seating capacity was 1000. Back of the auditorium, was a lobby or foyer which seems to have been the principal entrance leading in from the terrace of the Middle Stoa.

Across the north side of the auditorium a stage *ca.* 3 m. wide, made presumably of wooden planks, was carried on a substantial wall faced with a marble screen panelled with herms whose shafts were of greenish-white Karystos marble, smooth on the front and sides and rough

at the back, with a short tenon at the lower end. A socket in the top of one shaft shows that the heads, of Pentelic marble, were made separately and attached. Two female and one male heads of about three-quarters life size were found in a tolerably complete state though stained or calcined, and a fragment of a fourth head was unscathed. All are based on fifth-century types and are cut in high relief against a rectangular plaque. The herms and intervening slabs of marble were topped by a sima-like member carved with interlacing lotus and palmette design. The estimated height of the stage is 1.20 m. with a total of seventeen herms on the front. It was bounded at the ends by statues whose bases are all that is left.

The *scæna* or dressing room measured 26.60 m. \times 6.90 m. on its interior and was floored with slabs of marble and had a door communicating with the north porch. Nothing of the superstructure of the latter is left in place though several blocks from it were re-used in the statue bases set against the façade that replaced it.

Large monuments stood at either end of the north front of the building; the foundations at the east end were inclined slightly inwards toward the axis of the Odeion to avoid a large earlier monument that flanked the Panathenaic Way. Their size (5.73 m. square) and massive construction are suitable for a chariot group. The monument at the west end has entirely disappeared and left only an impression in the earth suggesting that it was long and narrow and extended along the northern façade.

Round the central core the basement consisted of a corridor 6.67 m. wide on the east and west sides and 6.82 m. on the south with a row of columns on its middle line. There are seven on the short and nine on the long sides, resting on limestone or marble blocks originally covered by the earthen floor. The stumps of nine remain in position and the upper part of one was found. The columns are of Pentelic marble, probably monolithic, with a lower diameter of 0.40 m. and although there is no direct evidence for the height of the basement storey, a balcony floor 3.25 m. above, at the level of the lobby, would be appropriate in scale. The balconies and basement seem to have had little if any functional connection with the concert hall and the former were more probably intended to increase the good places from which to see the Panathenaic Procession and other ceremonies in the Agora.

The attribution of the building of the Odeion to Agrippa is confirmed by many features typical of the Augustan age, for example: the capitals and mouldings of the entablature are most closely paralleled by those in the Tower of the Winds and the Roman Market and the "classicising" purity and delicacy of the carving show the influence of fifth-century models, while the façade of herms recalls the Caryatid porch, though the Korai are free-standing. Hellenistic and Roman influences also were strong; the orchestra floor of *opus sectile* is typically Italian

and the pilastered treatment of the upper wall with windows at intervals has many parallels in Asia Minor as well as in the reconstructed western end of the Erechtheion.

The plan of the Odeion shows a complete break with Greek tradition. The orthodox covered music-hall or auditorium such as the Odeion of Perikles or the Telesterion at Eleusis, was rectangular in plan and the roof was supported by a forest of columns which must have interfered greatly with the spectators' view. The semicircular theatre was out-of-doors, preferably in a hillside. The Odeion has combined both into one, providing a roof for a semicircular auditorium, perhaps following the example of the roofed theatre at Pompeii built a half-century earlier and has also adopted the experiment of surrounding it with loggias whose cryptoporticus basement recalls the aisles of the South and East Basilicas at Corinth. The extensive use of balconies prevailed particularly in Southern Italy.

The engineering skill required to roof the large span of the auditorium is more characteristic of Romans than Greeks, but even so, the alterations made in the Second Period may have been necessitated by the collapse of the roof. In any case, the auditorium was reduced in size by moving its south wall 7.66 m. farther to the north, thereby reducing its seating capacity to 500, and the building was re-roofed, mostly with new tiles. The other most important change was the demolition of the North Porch and the utilization of the *scaena* as a long portico facing north. Its entablature was supported by piers adorned with colossal figures in high relief and it was reached by seven flights of marble steps separated by eight long pedestals (extending 2.40 m. from the façades) intended to hold seated statues.

The square piers with their colossal figures popularly called the Giants, which have long been familiar landmarks, seem to have been made for the Odeion of the Second Period and re-used in the large Gymnasium that later occupied the site. The monsters are of two kinds: bearded Tritons of heavy build with fishy extremities and unbearded Giants of slighter proportions whose legs end in snakes. Two Tritons and one Giant, are reasonably complete and the fragments of others give evidence for a minimum of five figures of whom three looked toward their right and two toward their left. At least six symmetrically arranged figures may safely be inferred, probably grouped with a pair to each doorway.

Two of those now standing have pedestals 1.91 m. high composed of two blocks of Pentelic marble obviously put together from earlier materials, since the lower halves are *ca.* 0.01 m. wider in both directions. The pedestals have base and crown mouldings and panelled sides and a front carved in relief with a gnarled olive tree entwined by a serpent. The technique of the carving on the upper half is the same as that of the colossal figures, but on the lower half it is inferior, and

though the continuity of the design is preserved the work has evidently been done at a later time.

The "classicising" style of the figures has often been remarked, but the most recent study of them has pointed out the derivation of the human parts of the Tritons and Giants from the pediments of the Parthenon; Triton from the Poseidon of the west pediment and Giant perhaps less directly from the Hephaistos of the east pediment.

Pausanias's two references to the building as the Odeion show that it still retained its original form at the middle of the second century A.D., but from later literary references we learn that after its remodelling it was no longer a concert hall but a lecture hall for the Sophists. The Antonine period was one of great activity in the Universities and the leading Sophist of the day was Herodes Atticus whose Odeion on the South Slope of the Acropolis was built within a decade of the remodelling of the older Odeion, which it replaced by something far more splendid for a concert hall.

The rebuilt Odeion was destroyed by fire within a century and much of its stonework was utilised in walls or towers or served as a quarry, and at about A.D. 400 a large complex of buildings with gymnasium and cloistered courts and a bath was built on the site.

We may now turn to smaller monuments in the Agora, beginning with some of the statues described by Pausanias in the course of his tour.

The first was the group of the Eponymoi or heroes who gave their names to the Attic tribes. The ten heroes, many of them ancient kings of Athens, were chosen by Kleisthenes at the time of his democratic reforms in 508-507 B.C.; formerly there had been but four tribes. These statues stood in a conspicuous place and were well known landmarks beside which the laws prepared in the Ecclesia, the lists of those drawn for military service and other public notices were posted. They were in front of the Bouleuterion according to Aristotle, and farther up than the Tholos according to Pausanias.⁷ As no cuttings for statue bases have been found in the rock above the Tholos, "farther up" may refer to a position along the road, and it is very probable that the statues stood on the long platform known as the "Periphragma" described below.

Next came the statue of the hero Amphiaraos, not a native Athenian but one of the many to whom the city offered a hospitable welcome. He was best known as the brave prophet-hero who with his four-horse chariot and his charioteer Baton, was swallowed up by earth at the place on the cliffs of Parnes known ever since as "Harma", the chariot, and who was made immortal by the gods. His sanctuary at Oropos bears all the characteristics of a healing god, a temple, a series of altars dedicated chiefly to deities connected with Asklepios, a fountain and a great stoa where the afflicted could await revelations through dreams.

Nothing further is known of this statue, but the group, Eirene (Peace) carrying the boy Ploutos (Wealth), a work of Kephisodotos the father of Praxiteles which Pausanias next mentions is famous through several replicas. The original group by Kephisodotos was probably dedicated soon after the establishment of the cult of Peace, after the battle of Leuktra in 374 B.C. A marble group of the "Virgin and Child" said by the Jesuit priest Babin in a letter written in 1672 to have been found in the church of St. Dionysios the Arcopagite and promptly destroyed by the archbishop as a relic of paganism, was probably a copy of the Eirene and Ploutos.

The goddess is draped in a heavy chiton with overfold, she stands with her raised right hand holding a sceptre that rests on the ground, and with the child held in her left arm. Her head is inclined downward towards him and he reaches up with his right hand to touch her chin and holds in his left hand the cornucopia, symbol of wealth.⁸

Next were the bronze statues of the statesmen Lykourgos and Kallias, the former an outstanding figure of the fourth century, distinguished for his anti-Macedonian foreign policy, his financial ability and integrity and his generosity to the city, where many public works were associated with his name. The decree of Stratokles dated 17 years after his death commemorates many of his benefactions and provides for the erection of a bronze statue of him in the Kerameikos. Two considerable fragments of the decree are extant.⁹ Kallias, of course, is best known as having negotiated the Peace that bears his name in 449 B.C.

The statue of Demosthenes, whose tragic end gives rise to Pausanias's melancholy reflections on the ingratitude of the demos towards their statesmen, stood somewhere near the others. Plutarch tells us that not long after his death the people of Athens set up a bronze statue in his honour, on the pedestal of which was inscribed the famous epigram said to have been the last thing composed by Demosthenes:—

"Had but thy power, Demosthenes, been equal to thy will,
Vain had been Macedonian arms, and Greeks were freemen still."

The statue of Demosthenes by Polyeuktes is familiar from many versions, either of the whole standing figure or of the bust.

In some copies the orator holds a scroll in his lowered hands, in others the hands are folded together, and this version must be closer to the original, since Plutarch tells an anecdote of a soldier who hid some money in the hands of the statue.¹⁰

Not far from the Temple of Ares, says Pausanias, are the statues of the tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton whose deeds are recounted by others. There was indeed no need for Pausanias to tell a story that was one of the most famous and familiar tales of patriotic acts. The heroes had been commemorated in prose and song for several

centuries before his day, ever since the time when Hippias and Hipparchos were marshalling the Panathenaic Procession and Hippias fell at the hands of the liberators, leaving his brother to carry on the ancestral "tyranny". The song or "Skolion" known as "Harmodios" that begins

"In a myrtle bough shall my sword be hid
So Harmodios and Aristogeiton did"

and continues with verses *ad infinitum* was the most popular of all at dinners and other festal occasions and is frequently referred to by Aristophanes and others.¹¹

We know that the original group by Antenor was set up soon after the expulsion of Hippias and was carried off by Xerxes and that after the Persian War a new group was made by Kritias and Nesiotes in 477 B.C. to replace it. The original statues were returned to Athens by Alexander the Great and the two groups then stood side by side in the market-place at least until the second century A.D.

From the surviving representations of the scene in sculpture and the minor arts we have abundant material for reconstruction of the group.¹²

It had long been recognised that most or all of the many restorations of the well known statues in the Naples Museum were incorrect, the most blatant being the Praxitelean head of Aristogeiton whom we know to have been bearded. The discovery of a bearded archaic head in the magazines of the Vatican and its identification as Aristogeiton resulted in the removal of the fourth-century head and the substitution of a cast of the Vatican head, and the new grouping of the figures side by side, in accordance with the consistent evidence of all the minor copies except one, where the introduction of a third figure changes the composition, gives harmony and cohesion to the group.

Harmodios had fared better than Aristogeiton, as he had kept his head, but a correct restoration of his arms had never been established until recently. The copies show two distinct variations, in one the sword in his right hand is held almost horizontally above his head, while in the other the whole forearm is bent back over the top of his head so that the sword is point downward in an almost vertical position.

This attitude gives more freedom and "swing" to the figure, while the horizontal sword is more in keeping with the archaic tradition of Antenor, and it seems legitimate to recognise in each of these variations the version of the statue which may have served as model. The Naples figures are a copy of the group of Kritias and Nesiotes. Everyone agrees that the originals of both groups must have been in bronze, and it is easy to see how greatly the effect would be improved by the removal of the supporting tree trunks introduced into the marble copies.

Two fragments of a statue-base with part of an epigram with the name of Harmodios inscribed on it were found in 1936 near the Odeion, and though not actually *in situ* (they came from a fill) are not likely to have been moved far from their original position. As the epigram was already familiar from literary sources, it is possible to restore the approximate width of the base as 1.38 m., which would allow ample room for two figures side by side. The forms of the letters, especially the theta with a small circle instead of a dot in the centre, characteristic also of the Marathon epigram, the Hekatompedon inscription and the Leagros base, make it probable that this base belonged to the statues made by Kritias and Nesiotes.

The group stood not far from the Temple of Ares, opposite the Metroon and was also near the "Orchestra". The first two of these landmarks have already been identified, but of the Orchestra, described as "a conspicuous place intended for public festivals", we are less certain. Probably it was originally a circular dancing place with, we are told, wooden scaffoldings for seats of the spectators and even a poplar tree from which the enterprising could see over the spectators' heads. Later improvements in the Agora may have replaced it by something of a more permanent nature.

Two monuments opposite the Metroon must, to judge from their size and position, have been of importance.

The first is a long narrow rectangular foundation of limestone, originally 18.40 m. by 3.68 m., with a row of cuttings for post-holes (with parts of two marble posts still *in situ*), for a fence of fifteen by four posts with three horizontal wooden rails topped by a stone coping enclosing the interior. Within the enclosure five blocks of a single long row suitable to hold statues is preserved. At a later time the length of the monument was increased at the southern end to a total of 21 m.¹³ It has been identified as the site of the Statues of the Eponymous Heroes and the addition was doubtless made at the time when a new tribe with a new statue of Hadrian was added about A.D. 125.

The second is a rectangular platform 8.35 m. by 4.247 m. approached by four marble steps resting on a euthynteria of poros and foundations of conglomerate, on which stood an altar, one large corner orthostate of which has been found. The base has a toros with guilloche surmounted by a Lesbian moulding and a bead-and-reel, the capping has an egg-and-dart above a bead-and-reel. The workmanship is of the fourth century but the structure has evidently been moved and rebuilt.¹⁴ Letters made by the masons show that this took place in the first century B.C.

In the angle between the Odeion and the Middle Stoa are the scanty foundations of a temple measuring 11.50 by 20.50 m. with a porch facing west towards the Tholos. Several fragments of fluted Ionic columns of Pentelic marble may have come from the porch. The

method of construction and the associated pottery suggest a date in the first century A.D. The probability that this large temple was connected with an imperial cult is strengthened by the earlier discovery here of a statue-base dedicated by the Council of the Areopagus in honour of Livia Boulaia.

A somewhat later narrow colonnade set against the terrace of the Middle Stoa bordered the precinct on the south and a wall running from the north-east corner of the Tholos precinct to the Odeion closed it on the north.¹⁵

To recapitulate briefly the results of the recent excavations: they have identified the public buildings along the west side of the Agora and have shown where its other boundaries were, have made the amazing discoveries of the Temple of Ares and the Odeion within its borders, have shown where the principal roads and drains ran, have cleared many smaller monuments and statue bases and determined the position of many works famous in antiquity.

The pottery and other small objects found has made it possible to date the buildings accurately and to trace the growth of the city from century to century in detail, and it seems no exaggeration to say that the much discussed topography of the Agora has now been established on a sound basis of contemporary evidence.

CHAPTER IX

The Hephaisteion

FROM the Agora proper one naturally passes on to the region directly adjacent, a considerable part of which lies within the area of the American excavations. Not actually in the Agora but closely connected with it was the district in the hollow between the northwest slope of the Areopagus and the eastern side of the Pnyx and Hill of the Nymphs.

The paved road in front of the west buildings of the Agora forked at the southern end of the Agora, at the Boundary Stone, into two branches, one of which ran round the lower western slope of the Areopagus and the other ran farther west through the bottom of the valley between the hills. The two presumably joined again in the narrowest part of the valley and the road then continued farther south where a long stretch of it was uncovered in the German excavations of the 1890's.

This was the road identified by Dr. Dörpfeld with the Panathenaic Way which he pictured as extending to a point some distance southwest of the Acropolis and then ascending in large curved loops to the western entrance. He was unwilling to believe that the processions—including that in which the Panathenaic Ship was carried—would use the steep ascent leading to the saddle between the Acropolis and the Areopagus which now has been definitely recognised as the Panathenaic Way.

The western road ran through a residential district served by the Great Drain. Houses of many periods, from the fifth century to Roman times, flanked the road and extended to the east and west. Associated with them were many wells and cisterns, an occasional wine- or olive-press, shops, foundries, potters' establishments, etc., suitable for such a neighbourhood.

As the majority of the houses immediately below the western brow of the Areopagus were of late date and little interest, this area was agreed upon by the Greek Archaeological authorities and the American excavators as a suitable site for the new Agora Museum, but the unexpected discovery of a large public building of excellent fifth century masonry led to a change of plans and the decision to use the Stoa of Attalos for the Museum.

The west road was intersected by one that led south of Kolonos Agoraios towards the Hill of the Nymphs and the Pnyx, a district identified with the deme of Melite where many famous citizens, including Themistokles, once lived.¹

Kolonos Hill rises rather abruptly (sometimes it is scarped) immediately to the west of the buildings bounding the Agora on its western side and slopes gradually on all other sides to the level below, with a general inclination northwards. The extent of the plateau is roughly 180 m. from north to south and 70 m. from east to west and from classical times until the present its most conspicuous monument, slightly north of its central point, has been the temple formerly called the "Theseion" but now definitely identified as the Temple of Hephaistos.

Until the recent excavations little or nothing had been known of any buildings on the hill except the Temple, nor was there any further evidence of its occupation except the identification of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite, Demos and the Charites at the centre of the northern part. Now it is possible both to identify some of the different periods in the long course of its occupation and to visualise the appearance of the principal building in relation to its surroundings.

The earliest remains on the hill are from a child's grave of the Submycenaean period, cut in the rock west of the Hephaisteion, and from Protogeometric graves to the south and southeast, all of which furnished typical pottery. Nearly all the remains have come from graves—rock-cut burials or occasionally urns in the Protogeometric period—or from wells or cisterns. As early as the Geometric period the pottery is plentiful, often scattered over the surface or found in crevices in the rock. Until a century ago parts of the plateau continued to be used as burying grounds.

Practically no evidence of house walls belonging to an early settlement has come to light and careful examination seems to indicate that there can have been little building, religious or secular, on the hill before the existing temple was erected in the fifth century B.C. Certainly there was no earlier temple on the site of this one, and if the cult already flourished, the small shrines or altars round which it may have centred have all disappeared.²

The recent excavations, which went down to bed rock whenever feasible, have thrown much light on the history of the building and have added many new architectural details.³

The Temple of Hephaistos measures 13.708 m. \times 31.776 m. on the stylobate and 15.168 m. \times 33.2445 m. on the bottom step. With the exception of this step the temple was built of Pentelic marble (most of the sculptured decorations were of Parian) and consisted of a Doric peristyle of 6 \times 13 columns surrounding a cella with naos, pronaos and opisthodomos, both of which were distyle *in antis*.

The foundations were blocks of brownish poros *ca.* 1.305 m. long, laid mostly in stretchers and varying from 1 to 5 courses according to the level of the rock on which they rested, and the rock was cut down to requisite level along most of the south side. The first foundation to

be laid was the great rectangle of the peristyle, then the flank walls of the cella (22.379 m. long) and then the inner cross-walls. A careful study of the cella wall-foundations shows that the building was originally planned with a longer narrower cella, 14.10 m. \times 7.50 m., and a shallow pronaos and opisthodomos, respectively 3.730 m. and 2.976 m. in depth, but when it was decided to have an interior colonnade the west cross-wall was moved farther east and the east cross-wall farther west, thus shortening the cella by nearly 2 m. and changing its relation to the two other parts which now measured 4.935 m. and 3.730 m., and the foundations were strengthened by adding supplementary lining-walls beside them to support the weight of the colonnade.

The euthynteria and the lowest of the three steps of the temple were of greyish fine poros and the other two steps of Pentelic marble. This unusual feature of difference in material (paralleled only in the Older Parthenon and at Rhamnous) gave rise to some strange views about the nature of the building.⁴ The peristyle and cella were paved with thick slabs of marble resting on a course of poros. The columns of the peristyle measure 1.018 m. on the lowest diameter and are 5.732 m. high. The metopes of the frieze on the east and the four next them on north and south are decorated with sculpture.

The inner face of the cella walls had a lower course 0.358 m. high that projected slightly, a wall base with sunken margin at the bottom, an orthostate course 0.843 m. high and presumably 14 courses above it, though the construction of the later barrel-vault roof has destroyed much evidence about the upper part of the cella where the wall-crown (course XVII) is missing. On the exterior of the opisthodomos of the building it is preserved in the form of an epikranitis 0.207 m. high, finished at the top with a hawkbeak moulding. The missing inner portion should probably be restored as a string course or interior cornice to correspond to the epikranitis on the outside.

The surface of the walls above the polished base course and orthostates was stippled with strokes of a fine point and had smooth margins left round the blocks. That this stippled surface was intended to be stuccoed and perhaps painted is evident from the careful relieving surfaces at the joints and the system of vertical grooves in the joints for lead waterproofing. The ancient method of preparing a wall for paintings was to place two coats of plaster on the stippled surface—the first composed of what in this case appears to be volcanic ash (presumably from Santorin), lime and fine sand with cut straw as a binder, and the second a finer one of ash, lime and pulverised marble. Plaster 0.002 m.—0.003 m. thick is preserved on the walls of the Hephaisteion up through course VI above the orthostates (level with the tops of the lower columns), above that level are traces of a paper-thin coat. The plaster was formerly thought to belong to the period of the

church but in respect to its thinness, hardness and chemical composition it is regarded as superior to any known plaster of Christian date. Moreover, the fact that the stucco is not carried into the reveals of the west door would be enough to show that the stucco antedates the door.⁵

Practically everyone agrees that the walls were originally intended for paintings, as seen by the stippling and waterproofing, but that their entire preparation was never completed. The existing plaster was only the preliminary coat. For some reason or other the idea of fresco paintings was abandoned and the finer coat was never added, but the traces of colour (red) on fragments of the existing plaster show that it had once been painted, and the suggestion that the wall was frescoed a solid colour to serve as a background for the interior colonnade and any statues that may have stood in the intervals seems very reasonable,

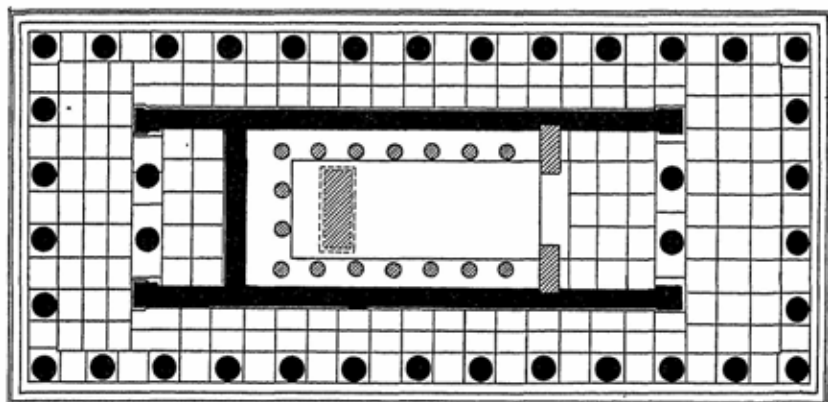


Fig. 12. The Temple of Hephaistos, Restored Plan

as this form of decoration would not have needed the delicate surface required for mural paintings.

Those who believed this building to be the Theseion thought the walls were covered by the works of Mikon and Polygnotos, but there are no literary references to ancient paintings in the Hephaisteion and the evidence indicates that none were ever executed on the walls.⁶

The arrangement of the interior colonnade has given rise to considerable discussion. Nothing is left of it except an epistyle block obviously from the upper order, since the general consensus of opinion is that the colonnade had two storeys. It has been restored with 3×5 columns or with 4×7 , the latter the correct restoration. This leaves little room between the columns and the cella wall for an aisle, which was probably only slightly raised above floor-level, but columns so placed would have been suitably set on the existing foundations. The lower columns were of very slender proportions with a diameter

of 0.63 m. and a height of 3.912 m.; the upper columns were 0.514 m. in diameter and 2.23 m. in height. The epistyle of the lower colonnade ranged with course X of the wall and that of the upper colonnade was level with course XVI.⁷

The rear line of columns was concealed to a great extent by the statues of Hephaistos and Athena which stood on a large base for which the foundations of the temple had been specially reinforced. Its position can be exactly determined by the very thick foundations and the presence of "ears" on the north and south cella foundations to sustain extra weight.⁸

Two blocks of dark grey Eleusinian limestone retrieved from the modern east wall allow the base to be restored as *ca.* 3.086 m. \times 1.20 m. \times 0.59 m. It was two blocks long plus corners formed by the end blocks. One block has a finished face and a cutting in the top for a crowning member and the other, which belongs to the front, has five cuttings in the face for the attachment of figures. Allowing for a second block and the adjoining corner block, there would be room for twelve figures dowelled to the background.

Above and below the Eleusinian stone die were members which may have been of the same material or of white marble, probably the latter, as it is more suitable for fine carved mouldings than the untractable Eleusinian stone. The large pedestal filled most of the space between the side rows of columns, so that to get round it one must pass *via* the colonnade.⁹

On this pedestal stood the statues of Hephaistos and Athena known from inscriptions to have been erected between 421-420 B.C. when the festival of Hephaistos was reorganised and 416-415 B.C. Although nothing remains of the statues themselves, a most important clue to them was the discovery in a casting-pit 10 m. southwest of the Temple of many fragments of clay moulds for the casting of one or more large bronze statues. The style of the drapery is late fifth century and the pottery found with the moulds is of the same date. It seems more than probable that we have here the moulds from which the great cult statues were made, as the date would be suitable for Alkamenēs whose work they were generally believed to be. These were two statues with separate bases on a common pedestal.

Cicero states that Hephaistos was a standing draped figure, slightly lame but not enough to be disfiguring.¹⁰ Athena, whom Pausanias was not surprised to see alongside Hephaistos because of "the story of Erichthonios" was more naturally and obviously there as patroness of the artisans of the quarter.

Pausanias says nothing further about the statues except that the eyes of Athene, like those of Poseidon, were "glaukos". This is one of the most difficult of all adjectives to translate, for its meaning ranges in colour from greyish-green (of the olive leaves) to blue and also indicates

a certain luminous or flashing quality. Cicero says Poseidon's eyes were "caeruleos", which is blue, but many other references to "glaukōpis Athene" lead one to believe that her eyes were the kind that change according to circumstances from grey-green, grey-blue or greenish-blue to blue.

The sculptured decorations on the exterior of the building have been described in detail many times elsewhere¹¹ and need little discussion here.

Besides the metopes in the Doric frieze there were sculptured friezes above the columns of the pronaos and opisthodomos. The former extended to the north and south by means of huge blocks reaching to the peristyle and bridging over the ambulatory. A continuous frieze round the outside of the cella is of course best exemplified in the Panathenaic Procession of the Parthenon.

The east frieze represented battle scenes in the presence of the gods, the west frieze the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs. These are still *in situ* but very badly damaged.

The ten metopes on the east side show the exploits of Herakles, the four easternmost on the north side and the four easternmost on the south side those of Theseus. They too are in a ruinous condition. The other metopes are without sculptures.

Among the recent discoveries was a bearded male head of Parian marble built into a late Roman house *ca.* 85 m. southeast of the Hephaisteion. It is of bestial or Centaur type, bald in front, with popping eye-balls and has holes in the back for fixing it in place. It comes from the metope representing Herakles with Eurystheus and the boar.¹²

From the cuttings for beddings and the holes for the attachment of statues it has long been evident that both pediments were once adorned with sculptures, but all attempts at restoration hitherto have been hypothetical and fantastic.

Considerable new evidence is now available. Part of a female foot, which can be fitted to a cutting in the west pediment, unfortunately does not permit us to build up the appearance of the rest of the pediment on the principle of *ex pede Herculem*, but several pieces of good fifth century sculpture of appropriate style and material and suitable dimensions found in the excavations within reasonable distance of the Hephaisteion may with all probability be assigned to the east pediment.

These are the torsos of a reclining figure similar to that in the west pediment of the Parthenon which appears to belong to the southern angle of the gable, of an excellent standing Athene who would be placed in the left hand part of the central group, of a young hero who would occupy a corresponding position to the right.

The cuttings on the floor of the pediment show that the central point was occupied by a figure seated on a throne and that the composition may be restored with chariot groups between the standing and

the angle figures. This indicates a ceremonial scene and the suggestion that it represents the Apotheosis of Herakles who is bringing the apples of the Hesperides to Zeus in the presence of his patron goddess Athene is admirably suited to the conditions.¹³

The group representing one woman carrying another on her back, of which the torsos were found in 1933 in a wall below the front of the Hephaisteion and one head in 1936 in a well south of the Temple, would most appropriately have served as the central akroterion of the building.¹⁴

Questions that formerly caused much discussion were the identification, the date—including the relation to other fifth-century temples—and the reason for certain architectural peculiarities (*e.g.* Ionic influence, frieze, mouldings, etc.). The first of these questions had been practically settled long before the recent excavations; nearly everyone for at least the last half century has recognised it as the Temple of Hephaistos.

The old arguments for regarding it as a "Theseion" are shown to rest on no sound basis. A sanctuary of Theseus was known to be near the Agora but the indication in ancient authors about its position and nature show it must have lain to the southeast of the Agora and been a fairly spacious open area, and the mistaken idea that the Temple of Hephaistos had only two steps and therefore could not have been a genuine temple but only an heroon is no cause for identification. Pausanias states plainly that the Temple of Hephaistos was above the Agora and the building was first so identified by Surmelis in 1863 and by Pervanoglu in 1868 though many other identifications were suggested before and after.¹⁵ Additional evidence of great value for this identification is the large number of foundries, casting-pits, furnaces, etc., used by the metal workers whose patron god was Hephaistos. The many wells and cisterns on the east, south and west slopes of the hill show that the vicinity was much in demand for houses and metal-workers' establishments.¹⁶

Formerly the dating of the temple was based to a great extent on subjective views about style or on historical probabilities and varied from 475 B.C., when the bones of Theseus were brought back from Skyros and buried by Kimon, to 415 B.C. when the statues of Hephaistos and Athene were dedicated. For some years most authorities have believed it to be a little earlier or a little later than the Parthenon, or somewhere about 450 B.C. Now with the aid of new evidence, it is possible to establish the date within narrow limits. The fill and deposits of rubbish inside and outside the temple in pits and crannies to the south, southwest and west furnished nothing later than the middle of the fifth century. The pottery includes Black-Figured and Red-Figured and plain glazed or household wares and inscribed sherds—ostraka or graffiti.¹⁷

In discussing the Temple of Ares (pp. 71-72) it has already been noted that the architect of that temple, as well as of those at Sounion and Rhamnous, is believed to be the same as the architect of the Hephaisteion, and of these four temples the Hephaisteion is regarded as the earliest, partly because of architectural details and partly because of the experimental character of the cella. It was obviously begun as a temple of the usual type with a simple cella, but before the building had progressed far, the architect, possibly under the influence of Iktinos the architect of the Parthenon and the temple at Bassae, decided to have an interior colonnade. This experiment was not repeated in his other temples, though the evidence shows that the earlier poros temple at Sounion had an interior colonnade. One reason may have been that a forest of columns would ruin the effect of mural paintings. The suggested date of 450-449 B.C. fits well with the great building program inaugurated at that time by Perikles when he moved that the Delian Tribute be used for such a purpose.¹⁸

One of the first things one notices about the building is its excellent state of preservation, except for slight damage from lightning at the southwest corner. Pausanias mentions but does not describe the Hephaisteion as it stood in his day and we know that it was converted, probably in the fifth century A.D., into a Christian church with a round apse at the east end, which involved the removal of the two inner columns of the pronaos, but few changes in the interior with the exception of a door through the west wall of the cella. In the late Byzantine period, *ca.* A.D. 1300, the apse was made polygonal, a barrel vault was constructed over the interior, and the inner colonnade and part of the east wall were removed. The spring of the vault is at wall-course XIII and the rest of the upper part has no contact. The vault is made of concrete with many architectural and epigraphical fragments embedded in it.¹⁹

Little is known of the history of the building for some centuries except the fact that nearly 70 graves—mediaeval Christian, Turkish and later Christian—were built around it and under the floor of the peristyle, opisthodomos and cella. Several were the graves of British visitors to Greece between the seventeenth century and the Greek War of Independence, when its use as a Protestant cemetery seems to have ended.

Some of the inscriptions on the walls or columns are sepulchral and may be dated between A.D. 896 and 1103, but their relation to the graves is uncertain. There are also historical records, which include parts of the so-called "Stone Chronicle", mentioning events between A.D. 1555 and 1800.²⁰

The area round the Temple was excavated in 1936 and in that year and the next the Greek Archaeological Society set up the two columns of the pronaos and removed the east wall built a century ago when the apse was removed, and later took out the brick filling of the west door

which had been put there in Turkish times. The cella and peristyle were excavated in the spring of 1939.

We must now turn to other remains on the plateau.

After the Temple was completed earth would have been thrown in to cover the foundations and at first there may have been only a banking of earth. The earliest formal enclosure, which extended some 8 m. to 10 m. beyond the Temple, was of irregular shape, the curious direction of its west side being determined by the line of the road to the Pnyx; the north side, of which the early line can be traced by beddings cut in the rock, seems later to have been made parallel to a large three-aisled Hellenistic building 42 m. \times 14 m., of unknown purpose, which was cut into the side of the hill; on the east a light terrace wall was approached by a ramp from the Agora. The pottery found indicates that this terrace belongs to the fourth and third centuries B.C.

At about this time the surface of the rock to the south was levelled down, thus demolishing the ancient cistern which had stood south of the Hephaisteion and outside the peribolos. (It was from this cistern that the shield taken by the Athenians from the Lakedaimonians was retrieved.) A new water supply was brought in by means of a channel from the Pnyx to a draw-basin at the southwest corner of the plateau and the central area was left open under priestly control for the crowded festivals.

This peribolos may be dated about the third century B.C. and the first important change was in the first half of the first century A.D. when the monumental staircase connecting with the Agora and continued by the broad roadway between the Metroon and the Temple of Apollo Patroos was constructed. Thereafter the whole area remained much the same in appearance until the destruction in late Roman times and the conversion of the Hephaisteion into the church of St. George.

The most astonishing discoveries in the peribolos were rows of rectangular holes ranged round the south, west and north sides of the Temple and parallel to it, which were intended to hold flower-pots. They indicate that a garden was laid out here, possibly when the formal enclosure was made and the running water system introduced. This would be in the third century B.C., a time known to have been active for public building and also the time of the first inventory of the priests of Asklepios for expenditures for the gods and their festivals, one of which was the Hephaisteia.

The best time of the garden seems, however, to have been in the late first century B.C., after the restoration of the Hellenistic building and terrace wall on the north which had been destroyed in Sulla's siege of Athens in 86 B.C., and in the first century A.D. when the great staircase from the Agora leading up to the garden was built. After the reign of Nero the water system went out of use and this probably meant the end of the garden.²¹

The slope of the hill made it necessary to cut good-sized holes in the rock at the south to retain the earth required, while on the north the plants would have been set in the earth filling, long since disappeared.

The whole rocky surface at the south is pitted with holes for cisterns, wells, graves, etc., but two main rows of rectangular holes running parallel to the Temple can be distinguished, one of which extends west beyond the Temple in order to turn northward along the west end.

On the north only one cutting is preserved, where the rock is highest, but it is enough to indicate that the holes ran round the south, west and north sides. Four rows can be identified on the south, the central two (B and C) being the best preserved. The cuttings average 0.90 m.—0.75 m. square with a depth of 0.65 m.—0.90 m. in row B, in the other rows they are *ca.* 0.75 m. square and only 0.60 m. deep. On the basis of existing evidence there must have been 60 holes round the temple.

The flower-pots, ten of them nearly complete, were found only in row B, but fragments were found in one of the other rows. One group is 0.17 m.—0.185 m. in height, and 0.23 m.—0.25 m. in diameter at the rim and the pots are neatly made to stand alone. The holes in the bottom are larger than in modern flower-pots. A second group is less well made, more flaring in shape and taller, varying from 0.182 m.—0.21 m., with a diameter of 0.24 m. and smaller holes in the bottom. Similar ancient flower-pots are almost unknown. Minoan flower-pots were decorated and placed where they could be seen and a pot from Olynthos also belongs to the ornamental type.

The question of what might have grown in the garden has been carefully studied in the light of ancient treatises on horticultural methods. The unpromising rock on the south called for special effort and it seems likely that the process known as "layering" was used there. For this process small fruit trees, shrubs such as box, myrtle, laurel—the last most suitable for a dry climate, were generally used. Vines and ivy were commonly planted with them and perhaps a hedge may have closed the east end of the temenos.

Another sanctuary known to have been in this vicinity, said to be in Melite or on or near Kolonos together with the Hephaisteion, was the Eurysakeion, dedicated to Eurysakes the son of Ajax.²²

The sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania with a famous statue by Pheidias was said by Pausanias to be near the Hephaisteion and the remains of the foundations of a building to the north (mostly destroyed by the railway cutting) may have belonged to it.²³

Directly north of the Hephaisteion is a large Hellenistic building not mentioned by Pausanias which has not yet been identified or carefully studied. It is obviously not a temple but is similar in plan to the Arsenal of Philo in the Peiraeus and may perhaps have served a similar purpose.²⁴

CHAPTER X

The East and South Boundaries of the Agora, the North Slope of the Acropolis

AFTER visiting the Hephaisteion and the Temple of Aphrodite Pausanias describes the Painted Colonnade, probably on the north side of the Agora, and after mentioning the Altar of Mercy (which some are inclined to identify with the Altar of the Twelve Gods), he passes next to the Gymnasium of Ptolemy "not far from the Market place".¹ Its position cannot be exactly determined, but it was almost surely northeast or east of the Agora.

The founder was probably Ptolemy Philadelphus (227-247 B.C.) who was a great patron of learning and many inscriptions record books presented by the Athenian Epheboi to the library in the Ptolemaion. Most of these inscriptions were found in or near the Stoa of Attalos and afford further evidence that the Ptolemaion was close at hand. Amongst the statues in the Gymnasium were those of Ptolemy the founder, of Juba king of Numidia and of the philosopher Chrysippos of Soli.²

Close to the Gymnasium was the sanctuary of Theseus. The incorrect translation of its name (Hieron) as "Temple" led to much confusion since the only temple visible before the excavations was that on Kolonos Hill, to which the name "Theseum" was promptly applied. Aside from the fact that placing the Theseion on the western side of the Agora disregards the evidence of Pausanias, who mentions it between the Gymnasium and the sanctuary of the Dioskouroi, no mere hero, however great, would have had a temple dedicated to him. The Hieron would have been a precinct in which stood a building or chapel in the hero's memory, where divine rites in his honour were celebrated.

It is not surprising that the Sanctuary of the human Founder of Athens, should rank as one of the most important in the city. In it rested the bones of Theseus brought by Kimon from the island of Skyros and on its walls were painted the fight of the Athenians against the Amazons, the Centaurs versus the Lapiths, and Theseus and Amphitrite. The first two were popular subjects in many buildings, but Theseus and Amphitrite were more rarely represented in art.³

The Theseion must have been a fairly large place, since we know from Thucydides that Athenian troops spent the night in the "Theseion within the walls" when in danger of a sudden attack by the Lak-daimonians. It became also a place of refuge for all and sundry, thus commemorating the kindly feeling of Theseus for the poor and oppressed and his hospitality to all.

Another sanctuary near by was that of the Dioskouroi or the Anakeion,⁴ which was at least as ancient as the time of Peisistratos. On the walls were the Rape of the Daughters of Lykippos by Polygnotos, and Jason's expedition to Colchis by Mikon. Pausanias also mentions representations of the Dioskouroi on foot and their sons on horseback, either a fresco or a group of statues. The Twin Horsemen were famous subjects in art, perhaps best known through the large statues on Monte Cavallo in Rome, but the type of standing Dioskouroi—naked youths side by side with their arms about each other's necks—appears on the ancient relief representing the festivals of the Attic calendar now built into the wall of the smaller Metropolitan Church in Athens. The Anakeion also must have been of considerable size and served as a place for cavalry muster and assemblies. Its position fortunately can be determined, for it was near or just below the sanctuary of Agraulos on the North Slope of the Acropolis.

But before ascending to the North Slope we must turn to the Eleusinion which with all probability may be placed to the southeast of the Agora.⁵ Pausanias speaks of it as beyond or above (ὑπέρ) the fountain of Enneakrounos which probably lay close to the southern boundary of the Agora. We learn from Clement of Alexandria that it was "beneath the Acropolis" and from Philostratos that the Panathenaic Procession with the ship "sailed round the Eleusinion" and passed the Pelargikon.

This would lead us to infer that it was on the Panathenaic Street fairly well up the slope, and although no structural remains to be identified with temples or temenos enclosure have yet been found—the accumulation of evidence near the point where the Panathenaic Way changes its course slightly from southeast to south to pass between the Areopagus and the Acropolis suggest this as the most probable site for the famous sanctuary.

The evidence consists of several inscriptions on large statue bases which are unlikely to have been moved far, on a marble eagle dedicated to "the Goddesses", and on decrees which were to be set up in the Eleusinion. Among the most interesting of the latter are numerous additional fragments of the inscription recording the sale of the goods of Alkibiades to which reference has been made earlier.

Five deposits of *kernoi* in shallow pits and many fragments of others close at hand afford good examples of these small inexpensive vases characteristic of the Eleusinian ritual and pieces of three marble reliefs, one of the familiar type with Triptolemos in his chariot with serpent wheels and the figure of Koré standing behind him, another with Demeter holding a torch and turning her head towards Triptolemos, the third with figures of two draped women, a standing Athena and a seated Demeter, all indicate that this area had been the scene of Eleusinian worship.

This Eleusinion, officially known as the "Eleusinion in the City" to distinguish it from that at Eleusis to which the annual procession from Athens took place in the autumn for the festival, must have been a temenos of considerable size. It is not quite clear from Pausanias whether the Temples of Demeter and Koré and of Triptolemos were actually included within the Eleusinion though their proximity and close connection of ritual are plainly implied in his narrative. He mentions the Temple of Triptolemos with a statue of the hero inside and a bronze bull and statue of Epimenides of Knossos in front and gives various versions of Triptolemos's ancestry, but then says he was warned by a vision in a dream not to carry the story farther or to tell about the sanctuary called the Eleusinion.

Fortunately other authors, though perhaps equally discreet about the actual mysteries, have left enough scraps of information for us to conclude that various primitive rites connected with agriculture and fertility were celebrated here and that possibly some of the worships of Demeter under such epithets as Chloë or Kourotrophos had intimate connection with the Eleusinion. Its nearness to the cult of the Semnai on the Areopagus also may be of significance and even the site of the Thesmophorion, generally placed on the Pnyx, may have been here.⁶

On the basis of one line in the *Thesmophoriazousai* which mentions the Pnyx, though Aristophanes does not actually say the ceremonies took place on it, the tendency has been to regard the Pnyx as the site of the festival. Careful researches and study on the Pnyx failed to find any very suitable site, though a few votive offerings such as might be appropriate to any deity came to light here and there.

In view of the nature of the rites of the festival and of their kinship to many other fertility rituals which we know were celebrated in this vicinity, the Eleusinion or its immediate neighbourhood would seem a more appropriate place than the distant Pnyx which apparently was not considered part of the city until it was enclosed within the Themistoklean wall.

The North Slope of the Acropolis was reached by the Panathenaic Way⁷ whose course from the Dipylon has already been mentioned several times. The fullest literary evidence for the principal landmarks along its route are given by Philostratos when describing the course of the Panathenaic Procession in which the ship was carried to its moorings above. It went from the Kerameikos to the Eleusinion and circled round it, then passed the Pelargikon and the Pythion and reached the spot where it was anchored.

Beyond the Pythion the Panathenaic Way continued past the Klepsydra to the western entrance of the Acropolis. On the wall of the Acropolis near the Klepsydra a badly weathered inscription includes the words "The Street of the Panathenaia". Many sections of the road have been identified, between the Dipylon and the Agora and along the

eastern side of the Agora where it is bounded by the "Valerian Wall". It was a paved street averaging *ca.* 10 m. wide in the parts investigated.

The North Slope actually lies outside the limits defined for the Agora investigations, but when it was proposed to make a wide boulevard from the present plateia at the west of the Acropolis round the north side at about the level of the old *Peripatos*, arrangements were made for the Agora staff to carry on excavations in the western part of this area before the ancient remains should be covered under a thick layer of concrete.

Included in this field were the large paved area in the region beneath the caves of Pan and Apollo, Klepsydra and innumerable wells on the northwest slope of the Acropolis.⁸ The rich contents of these wells—extending from Neolithic to Late Helladic—have already been mentioned when showing the growth of Athens from its earliest times, and plentiful other evidence has been unearthened farther east along the slope to indicate that this whole region had been occupied from Neolithic times onward. The antiquity of the settlements might have been inferred even before the excavations, from the fact that mythology puts so many primitive cults here. Survivals of the old pre-Hellenic religious beliefs still continued through historic times, survivals too of the worship of sylvan deities, nature spirits connected with water and green things and young animals.

Towards the end of the last century the Greek Archaeological Society began the investigation of the western part of the North Slope, especially in the region of the caves, and they also cleared some of the paved area below the westernmost of them which had tentatively been identified as the Pythion, but the researches had not extended farther east than the cave of Agraalos. This eastern part of the North Slope was explored in a series of excavations undertaken by the American School.

But first we must return to the monuments beside the Panathenaic Way. The clearing of the Paved Court, including the freeing of the western part of it from the portion of the "Valerian Wall" which had been built across it, and the excavation and study of Klepsydra in the different periods of its history have shown a close relation between the two at least from early in the fifth century when the great building schemes of Kimon for reconstruction after the Persian Wars were begun. That the two formed parts of the same plan is shown by the common wall that they shared (the north wall of Klepsydra is part of the south wall of the Paved Court) and also from the similar methods of building construction.

The peculiar shape of the Paved Court is the result of its situation, bounded on the south by the line of the overhanging cliff and of the spring house, on the north by the *Peripatos*, and cut at the northwest corner by the Panathenaic Street. Its eastern boundary wall makes a

right angle with the northern, the long north side is met at an oblique angle by six (once seven) broad shallow steps which form the actual boundary of the western part of the enclosure. The outer dimensions of the court are *ca.* 24.25 m. from east to west by 10.50 m. from north to south; the inner *ca.* 18.0 m. \times 9.0 m.

The walls—best preserved at the east—are carefully built of blocks of poros, and the floor is paved with neatly laid stone slabs. The

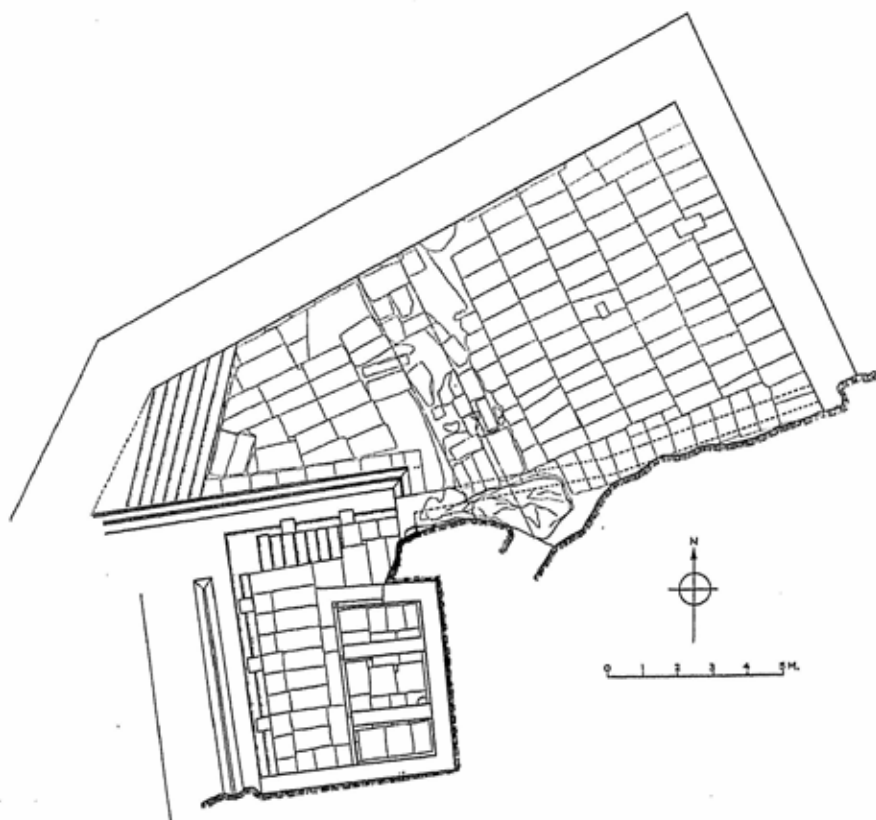


Fig. 13. Klepsydra, Restored Plan of Area

original court was later divided by a transverse wall *ca.* 1.75 m. thick running north and south and cutting the court into a larger approximately square area at the east and a smaller irregular one at the west. The unusual thickness of the north wall suggests that perhaps the Court and Klepsydra were originally intended to be a fortified outwork of the Acropolis, but there is no evidence to show that such a plan was ever carried out.

During the later Middle Ages and until early in the nineteenth

century Klepsydra had been included within the fortified walls at the base of the Acropolis, the well-house had been abandoned, the water piped to a new Turkish fountain farther down beside the road from the town, and the centuries' accumulation of earth and rubbish from the Acropolis had covered the old spring.

In 1822 the "Bastion of Odysseus" was built to enclose the spring and assure a supply of water for the Acropolis and after the Revolution the ancient spring was discovered by Pittakis who published accounts of it in 1835 and 1853. The Greek Archaeological Society demolished the "Bastion of Odysseus" in 1888 and made Klepsydra relatively accessible but uncovered very little of the Court. In 1896-7 they began what was intended to be a systematic exploration of the North Slope, but the discoveries in the caves of the Long Rocks proved so important that little was done lower down except clearing part of the Paved Court.

The Klepsydra underwent a long series of changes from the days when it was a spring that issued out into the cave beneath the Long Rocks until it was enclosed in the great bastion. Originally it seems to have been one of those springs in a cave which were sacred to the nymphs collectively or to one water sprite.⁹ Its use must date from remote times, for the potsherds found in the thirty or more shallow wells dug near it to tap the source of water extend from the Neolithic period in more or less continuous sequence to the fifth century.

Klepsydra is often referred to in ancient literature, but no description of it has come down to us and until recently it was best known as a well in the floor of the small chapel of the Holy Apostles, reached through a narrow cleft in the Acropolis rock by a long flight of steps which begin behind the pedestal of the Agrippa monument and are modern in the lower part but rock-cut in the upper. The side walls of the chapel are for the most part cut out of the living rock and surmounted by a barrel vault of brick masonry which is used also for the apsidal end. The circular well-head rises some distance above the present floor level and is topped by the ancient kerb. At the bottom, 5 m. below, one could see the water which varied in depth according to the season but never ran entirely dry.¹⁰

The complete investigation of Klepsydra was begun in 1938 when the water was bailed out and the study of the draw-basin showed that it had been an early fifth-century structure whose original entrance from the west had been hidden under the Wall of Valerian and the "Bastion of Odysseus". A cleft in the rock above led into the southwest corner of the spring-house.¹¹ The walls of the original spring-house enclosed the rectangular draw-basin on the north and west sides and included a flight of steps leading down at the north-west corner, while the east and south sides, as well as the roof, were formed by the natural cave in the rock. At some subsequent time the rock had collapsed,

leaving only the northwest part of the spring-house accessible and blocking up the rest until the Romans decided to make the spring accessible from the Acropolis by opening a shaft through the boulders from above and erecting a well-house that was later converted into a church.

The draw-basin, which measured 4.50 m. \times ca. 2.35 m. \times ca. 4.00 m. deep, is excellently built of blocks of grey or buff poros averaging 0.40 m. in height. The west wall rested on the natural rock, the other three on a setting course which projected slightly. At the foot of the east wall are three openings for water; two are arched, the third, the most northerly, is rectangular. Evidence for a fourth exists farther north. All are paved with shallow roof-tiles of white marble reaching back to the natural rock to the points where the water issued forth. These openings are not spouts but inlets and the basin was constructed on the live-bait box pattern, in which the natural flow of water in and out takes care of itself. The openings must generally have been well below the water-level. The surplus water from the springs ran down the North Slope and was in later days piped into a reservoir below.

The floor was paved with thick slabs of poros. Two pairs of stout wooden beams, the socket holes for which are conspicuous in the east and west walls, were probably placed there to keep the walls from converging. The north and west walls of the reservoir are bordered by a broad platform to which a flight of eight steps with one side set against the north wall, led down from the ground level. A wooden barrier prevented anyone from falling into the basin while drawing water. Three cuttings for the ends of railings can still be seen in the face of the south wall.

At the top of the entrance steps was a platform ca. 1.60 m. wide bordered at its inner edge by a parapet of marble orthostates ca. 0.90 m. high, topped by a triangular coping. The exterior dimensions of the spring-house are 8.50 m. \times 6.70 m.; the depth from the top of the coping to the floor of the basin is ca. 7.925 m.

We know nothing of the architectural history of Klepsydra for the next few centuries but it was probably in the first century B.C., as may be inferred from the fragments of tiles and pottery and from the coins found in the filling behind the parapet, that the collapse of the roof mentioned earlier took place. This made the southern part of the spring-house unusable but left the entrance and staircase at the northwest still available. Along the western margin of the basin the old railings were replaced by three large slabs of Pentelic marble, which virtually served as a retaining wall for the rubbish and débris that filled the western part of the chamber. Two of the slabs had formerly been bases for statues and the third had held a stele. The southernmost of them bears a dedicatory inscription of the sixth century. The northernmost block of the marble parapet supported the marble

well-beam, a slab bordered with a simple Ionic moulding, with a large central hole through which the water was drawn up.

A century or so later a more serious collapse blocked the whole of the west side of the Spring House and also crushed the common wall, while several huge boulders which fell into the court caused great destruction. This meant that the public entrance to the spring must now be from the north by way of the Paved Court, and the profane western part was divided from the sacred eastern part reserved for Apollo and his priests by the transverse wall mentioned above.

After another century or so had passed, the construction of the chapel and stairway connecting it with the Acropolis completely covered the old spring-house beneath its mass of concrete. The Paved Court seems to have been abandoned and forgotten and the isolation of both Klepsydra and Court was further increased by building the "Valerian Wall" across the corner of the former and along the western boundary of the latter.

One thing that could not be ignored or forgotten was the flow of water from the springs in the rock. A huge cistern farther down the slope served as a reservoir. Centuries later the overflow was collected into a Turkish fountain, and a still later fountain less than 100 m. east of Klepsydra with some of the water pipe leading from under the Court seems to have survived until early in the nineteenth century. The surrender of the thirsty Turkish garrison on the Acropolis in 1822 was a warning to the Greeks. Pittakis accordingly was appointed to institute a search for water and—apparently by tracing the pipes back from the fountain—he ultimately discovered the well-house. The draw-basin was then cleaned out and incorporated into the "Bastion of Odysseus" which withstood all the attacks of the Turks to destroy it.

The purpose of Klepsydra was self-evident but the purpose of the Paved Court and its close connection with the caves in the rock above it was more difficult to explain. On the north side of the Acropolis—known as the Long Rocks¹²—are four caves:

A, directly above the Klepsydra, is hardly more than a large niche in the rock. No votive offerings have been found in it and it was probably never a sanctuary.

B, which is larger and deeper (4.30 m. × 2.40 m. × 7.30 m.), contained a number of tablets dedicated to Apollo "below the heights" or "below the Long Rocks" and the sides of the cave are filled with votive niches. The inscriptions on the tablets are generally enclosed in a wreath of olive or myrtle and though all of Roman date, they were dedicated by archons taking the ancient oath of office. In front of the cave are rectangular cuttings, evidently for an altar.

Γ is slightly larger than B and considerably higher (11.20 m.). It is closely connected with B, and is separated from it only by a spur of

rock. No offerings were found in Γ, but in front of it is a large shallow hollowing in the rock, probably the site of the *eschara* or hearth of Zeus Astrapaïos. The altar mentioned above is not orientated entirely in relation to Β, but has one corner towards it and one towards Γ, and suggests a double worship of Zeus and Apollo, such as prevailed in the Agora near the Stoa Basileios.

Δ differs from the other caves in being a real tunnel-like cave with a narrow opening and two branches to the east, on the farther of which stood the chapel of St. Athanasios.

There are no offerings to identify this cave, but because of its dark and secret nature it has sometimes been identified as the cave in which Apollo met Kreousa. Since, however, several references in Aristophanes *Lysistrata* about Pan's cave imply the need for a secluded spot, others believe this cave was his.

Whether the cave was Apollo's or Pan's is of less importance than the definite evidence that Pan and the Nymphs were worshipped—separately or collectively—on the North Slope, that Apollo Pythios had a sanctuary there and that according to Strabo the Pythiasts watched from the hearth of Zeus Astrapaïos which was between the Python "on the wall" and the Olympieion, for the flash of lightning at Harma (Phyle) on Mt. Parnes as a signal for starting the procession to Delphi. It is tempting to identify cave Γ as a primitive sanctuary of Zeus Olympios, but there is no definite proof for it.¹³

The familiar statement of Thucydides that the oldest city lay to the south, as indicated by the position of the Olympieion and the Python, is difficult to reconcile with the fact that the North Slope was continually occupied from Neolithic times onward.

It is, however, true that the Olympieion had been begun as early as the days of Peisistratos and that the famous sixth-century altar dedicated to Apollo Pythios and known to all students of history and epigraphy was seen and described by Thucydides himself. There may well have been pairs of sanctuaries in different parts of the city dedicated to the same deities, but the close connection between Apollo Pythios and Delphi, the narrative in *Ion* about the love affair of Apollo and Kreousa in the cave "below the Long Rocks", the watch for the flash from Harma, are inconsistent with a Python on the south side of the city where a view of the chariot on Mt. Parnes is cut off by the Acropolis itself.

Since the Python was said to be on the Panathenaic Way, it should be on the slope not far from where the Panathenaic Ship was moored, and the identity of the Paved Court as the Python where the procession could prepare for its start to Delphi seems most reasonable. The Court, which was obviously not a public square but a sacred enclosure accessible only from the west where the Panathenaic Way passed it, is large enough for the marshalling of the procession.¹⁴

Beyond Δ an underground passage in the rocks some 35 m. long leads to cave E which opens towards the east, and is generally identified as the cave of Agrauros.¹⁵ It was the exploration of this cave that led to the spectacular discovery of the Mycenaean spring and the secret staircase from the Acropolis described in a previous chapter. It afforded communication between the Acropolis and the temenos of Agrauros, the daughter of Kekrops who threw herself from the Acropolis after she had looked into the chest or basket where Erichthonios was concealed, though she had been forbidden to do so. Pandrosos, the virtuous sister who obeyed instructions, had her sanctuary on the Acropolis itself.

The primitive sanctuary associated with the story of Erichthonios (who is represented as accompanied by serpents in his basket, or as partly human and partly serpentine in form, or regarded as the humanisation of the sacred serpent of the Erechtheion), and with Agrauros and her sisters, whose names Herse and Pandrosos obviously point to them as nature-spirits, was one of many along the North Slope. Later the sanctuary was devoted to other uses as well, for we know the Epheboi took the oath of loyalty to the State in the precinct of Agrauros.

Other Sanctuaries whose very existence and names had been forgotten have now been found close at hand. The North Slope must once have been a veritable garden dedicated to many rustic deities of the old religion so pointedly ignored by later writers who scorned or were ashamed of the primitive rituals of their ancestors. Although the east part of the North Slope was known to contain many votive niches, no systematic explorations were made until 1931 when the discovery of a rock-cut inscription to Eros and Aphrodite led to the excavation of an important temenos.¹⁶ At the foot of the Mycenaean stairway east of the Erechtheion remains of steps outside and below the Acropolis wall and of Mycenaean houses on either side of them were found. The North Slope had served as a dumping ground from the Acropolis from time immemorial, things had fallen in confusion, the stratification was almost indistinguishable, earth and rubbish had concealed what lay below, but careful exploration has been well repaid by the results.

The slopes of the Acropolis had long been known to be the site of many primitive cults of deities connected with vegetation and fertility. Demeter Chloe, Gé Kourotrophos and Aphrodite Pandemos, for example, had their precincts, and the decree passed in 416-415 B.C. forbidding the further erection of altars in the Pelargikon may represent a determined effort on the part of the authorities to restrict and as far as possible to disown the worship of the less dignified and more primitive deities so dear to the common people, deities who were in most cases a heritage from very remote times of the pre-Olympian

religions. Cut on the side of a large boulder *ca.* 35 m. northeast of the Mycenaean stairway is the so-called *Peripatos* inscription which reads:

[τ] οὐ περιπάτο[υ] | περίοδος | π[έντε] σ[τάδια] πόδες | ΔΠΙΙΙ.

This roadway, whose given length corresponds fairly well with a path at the level of the inscription and of the road south of the Acropolis near the Asklepieion, apparently encircled the Acropolis and served as a boundary line dividing the many little sanctuaries and cult places from the larger precincts farther down the slope.

The sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite was directly north of the point where the circuit wall of the Acropolis makes an acute angle northwest of the Mycenaean stairs. Beneath the niches and inscription was a terrace approached by a ramp from the *Peripatos* road. The temenos occupied most of the ground bounded on the east by the *Peripatos* inscription and on the west by a large natural outcropping of rock, and included several terraces and natural caverns. This is the first precinct found in Athens dedicated to Eros, but his mother Aphrodite seems to have been his partner in the cult. The offerings, among them a number of small phallic stones set in mortar and mounted on altars, a large marble phallos, reliefs representing reproductive organs both male and female, show that this was one of the many cults connected with fertility, and that Eros, like Adonis, was thought of as a spirit of vegetation or "spring daimon".

Among the fragments of sculpture from the sanctuary are part of a marble relief of Eros, a terracotta figurine of a sleeping baby, and fragments of a marble relief belonging to a procession of Erotes from a frieze already known and now in the National Museum, which may have formed part of the temenos wall.

On the North Slope, either a little below the surface or in wells, were many objects, including abundant fragments of vases, mostly Black-Figured, which apparently had been thrown down from the Acropolis. The finest example is the large kalyx krater by Exekias found in 1937.

Other important discoveries were fragments of inscriptions from the Erechtheion accounts, the inventory of the Opisthodomos, the accounts for the statue of Athene Promachos, and nearly 200 ostraka inscribed with the name of Themistokles.¹⁷

According to Pausanias the Arrephoroi descended from the Acropolis through an underground passage to the precinct of Aphrodite in the Gardens, carrying on their heads a mysterious burden. This they left at the end of their journey, and received another equally mysterious with which they returned.

The well-known precinct of the Gardens near the Ilissos was a remote place, hardly to be spoken of as "not far distant" or one to which the maidens would go across the city at night, and now that we have close

at hand a sanctuary of Aphrodite reached by means of the rock-cut steps and the cave of Agrauros, it is natural to identify it as the precinct of the Gardens mentioned above. All the literary evidence had indicated that the offerings carried by the Arrephoroi had something to do with vegetation or fertility, and the nature of the offerings found in the sanctuary agrees perfectly with this.

The upper part of the Slope with the primitive sanctuaries was divided by the *Peripatos* from what might be called the official precincts slightly lower down. The last of these which we mentioned was the Anakeion, "above which was the precinct of Agrauros", and near by was the Prytaneion.¹⁸

This was the original Prytaneion or Town Hall, the centre of government, where most of the official business was transacted and the state meals provided until the building of the Tholos and Council House in the Agora. In the Prytaneion was the ever-burning hearth from which fire was taken whenever a colony was founded and Pausanias mentions a statue of Hestia in the Prytaneion along with one of Eirene. Here were kept the laws of Solon engraved on wooden *axones* and we have seen that copies engraved on *kurbeis* were kept in the Royal Colonnade. Statues of distinguished citizens—among them Miltiades and Themistokles, (who Pausanias says were respectively re-inscribed as a Roman and a Thracian), and Autolykos the pankratiast—were erected in the Prytaneion.

Even before the time of Drako the Prytaneion was the residence of the Archon, while the King Archon resided in the Boukoleion, the Polemarch in the Epilykeion and the other archons in the Thesmotheion. These buildings were presumably close together somewhere on the North Slope though no remains are left. Such ancient rites as the marriage of the wife of the King Archon to Dionysos and the *Bouzygion* or ritual sowing would appropriately be here, and the latter would form a link with the rites in the Eleusinion specially connected with Triptolemos and the sacred ploughing and sowing. This ceremony is amongst those represented on the ancient frieze with the Attic calender, now built into the little Metropolitan Church.

The Prytaneion is the last building mentioned by Pausanias on the slope, for he next speaks of going thence to the lower parts of the city, but before we do likewise attention must be called to the huge cave in the east face of the rock of the Acropolis, which would seem a promising place in which to expect to find traces of early cults, but preliminary excavations carried out in 1936 were rather negative in their results except for the discovery of a great quantity of pottery, many fragments of which belong to vases in the Acropolis Museum.¹⁹ The cave could be fully cleared only by excavations on a very expensive scale.

The first sanctuary mentioned by Pausanias on his way to the lower city (by which he here means the district about the Olympieion) is

that of the Egyptian deity Serapis, whose worship was introduced by Ptolemy. Its position has not been definitely identified, but several inscriptions and a bust of Serapis were found not far from the Metropolitan Church.²⁰

Near the Serapeion was the Temple of Eileithyia. According to one version her worship was introduced by the Delians to whom the goddess had come from the Hyperboreans to help Leto in her travail; according to another version she had been born at Amnisos in Crete, where recent researches in a cave on the hillside above the port of Amnisos have shown that it was a centre of worship of Eileithyia from Neolithic times. The antiquity of the worship in Athens is evident from Pausanias's statement that two of the wooden images in the precinct had been brought from Crete and one from Delos. All three were draped to the feet in embroidered robes.

CHAPTER XI

The East and South Slopes of the Acropolis, Choregic Monuments, the Precincts of Dionysos

FROM the Prytaneion in addition to the road towards the Olympieion there led also the Street of the Tripods which ran round the east and south sides of the Acropolis as far as the Theatre of Dionysos and must have followed much the same line as the modern Tripod Street.

Part of the course can be definitely traced by the remains of choregic monuments along it, some of which still lie hidden beneath modern houses, others of which are visible. The existing remains consist almost entirely of conglomerate foundations with sometimes a course or two of the base—generally of poros—resting on them. One is under a building at the northwest corner of Tripod and Thespis Streets; the remains of another, slightly north of the Monument of Lysikrates, show that it must have been an imposing structure with estimated dimensions of 6.60 m. \times 4.60 m., possibly large enough to deserve the name of "temple" which Pausanias gives to the monuments that flank the road; remains of other foundations are visible south of the Lysikrates monument and within the same small park-like enclosure. They are important for giving the line of the street, but are too ruinous to admit of satisfactory reconstruction even on paper.¹

One still standing in nearly perfect condition about 140 m. east of the Acropolis is the Monument of Lysikrates, later known as the "lantern of Demosthenes" and built into the Capuchin monastery in which Byron stayed during one of his visits. At that time some of the marble slabs of the building had been removed and the monument utilised as a book cupboard and study, which must have been uncomfortably small. The convent was burnt down in 1821 and the monument somewhat damaged, but after the Revolution it was freed of the earth that had accumulated round its base, and made more easily visible.

The Monument of Lysikrates² consists of a base *ca.* 3 m. square and 4 m. high resting on a stepped foundation of conglomerate originally faced with blocks of Hymettos marble, and is built of four courses of poros blocks with draft margins above which are a narrow course and a projecting plinth or sort of cornice, both of Eleusinian stone. On this stand three steps of Hymettos marble supporting six Corinthian columns of Pentelic marble *ca.* 3.55 m. high, arranged in a circle, alternating with thick curved slabs of the same material fitted at the edges in such

a fashion that the columns appear partly engaged, the whole forming a cylindrical structure 2.2 m. in diameter. The upper part of each slab is decorated with two tripods carved in low relief. The flutings of the columns begin farther down the shaft than is usual and terminate at the upper ends in leaves curving forward, above which they are separated by an annular channel, presumably cut to hold a band of metal, from the similar leaves that compose the lower part of the capital.

The entablature is formed of a tripartite architrave and a narrow frieze only *ca.* 0.254 m. in height. On the eastern face of the former, arranged in three lines, is an inscription stating that

Lysikrates of Kikynna, son of Lysitheides, was choregos; the tribe Akamantis gained the victory with a chorus of boys; Theon played the flute; Lysiades, an Athenian, trained the chorus; Euainetos was archon.

On the frieze is the story of the attack on Dionysos by pirates and their consequent transformation into dolphins, of which probably the earliest version is in the Homeric *Hymn to Dionysos*. This is sculptured in a very spirited and graceful fashion in low relief.

Above a band of dentils surmounted by mouldings rests the roof, which is carved to represent a thatch of laurel leaves bordered by one row of antefixes and one of wave-pattern and divided by three large scroll-like ornaments radiating from the apex from which an elaborate floral ornament or finial rises to support the tripod. Holes for the setting of its feet arranged so as to make an equilateral triangle are cut into the upper surface of the flower while a larger depression in the centre was provided for a support on which rested the bowl itself. The steps, the columns, the slabs, the entablature and the roof with its scroll ornaments and the lower part of the finial are each cut out of a single block of Pentelic marble.

From the name of the archon on the inscription we know the year 330 B.C. was the date of the victory and we have in this unusual monument one of the earliest examples of the use of the Corinthian order whose grace and charm are better illustrated here on a small scale than on the oversized elaborations to which the order grew in Hellenistic and especially in Roman times. All the workmanship on the building is of the utmost delicacy.

We have no means of knowing whether most of the monuments along the street were as handsome as the one which good fortune has preserved to our time, but there is no doubt that the street must have presented a gorgeous appearance with more or less elaborate structures supporting the tripods of bronze, which in the case of particularly rich dedicators were often gilded. The street became a fashionable

promenade and an important thoroughfare from the Prytaneion to the Precinct of Dionysos.

This precinct was enclosed by a strong wall of poros still preserved along the southern side near the modern street of Dionysios the Areopagite. Its western course can be restored from remains on a line leading up to the western parodos of the Theatre. On the east the ground has not yet been fully excavated and none of the remains discovered can be positively identified with the Propylaea which must be looked for on this side.³ Within the temenos were the Old and the

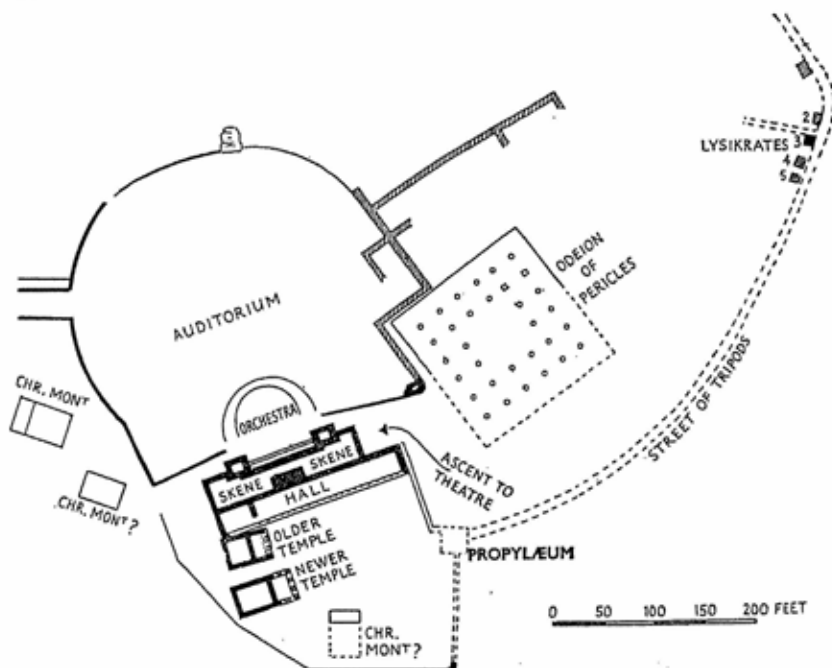


Fig. 14. Tripod Street and the Dionysiac Precinct

New Temples of Dionysos Eleutherios, the Great Altar, the Theatre and the Hall.

The cult was introduced into Athens when the ancient wooden image of the god was brought from Eleutherai on the border between Boiotia and Attica and this is said by Pausanias to be the oldest sanctuary of Dionysos in the city.

The scanty remains of the Old Temple⁴ may be seen just south of the west end of the long Hall. They consist of about 8.50 m. of the foundations of the north wall with one block of the west wall and slightly more of what was presumably the east wall of the cella. The foundations are of bluish Acropolis limestone, the euthynteria of Kará stone and

the building of poros with clamps of the early forms in use before the end of the sixth century. It is generally restored as a temple *in antis*, with pronaos and two columns, which was some 12.50 m. long and 8 m. wide. The steps at the west end of the Hall attributed to the time of Perikles were adapted so as not to injure the older building. It is generally believed to have housed the ancient *xoanon* which was taken yearly to the small ancient shrine of Dionysos Eleutherios near the Academy where the image may perhaps first have rested on its way from Eleutherai. This procession was conducted with pomp and ceremony and ended in revels.⁵

The New Temple,⁶ of which only the breccia foundations remain, was farther south and parallel to the Hall. It was 21 m. long by 9.60 m. wide with pronaos and cella in which a large part of the great statue base is still preserved. On it presumably rested the gold and ivory statue of Dionysos by Alkamenes who worked in the latter part of the fifth century. This statue, judging from coins of imperial date, represented the god seated on his throne in the typical pose established for the figure of Zeus by Pheidias and used also as a type for Asklepios. Whether the paintings described by Pausanias just after he speaks of the temples were on the walls of the Later Temple or, as some think, in the Hall (the text is inconclusive) they represent subjects—the bringing back of Hephaistos to heaven by Dionysos, the punishment of Pentheus and of Lykourgos for impiety to Dionysos, and Ariadne abandoned by Theseus and rescued by Dionysos—which became very popular in Red-Figured vase-paintings.

To the southeast are foundations 11.50 m. \times 3.30 m. which generally are considered those of the great altar, though their position in relation to the New Temple is unusual and some prefer to regard them as foundations for a large votive dedication.

Above the highest rock-cut seats of the Theatre the face of the Acropolis rock has been cut vertically to form a scarp (*katatomé*). In front of the opening into a cave, now the chapel of Panagia Spiliotissa, stood the choregic monument of Thrasylos, dedicated in 320 B.C., now in a sadly ruinous condition but shown in something more like its original form in Stuart's drawings.⁷

The façade consisted of two side pilasters and a narrower central one resting on two steps, the lower of Hymettos and the upper of Pentelic marble, making a sill 0.65 m. deep. The bosses still left on the vertical faces show that the details of the building had never been completely finished. Pieces of the door-leaves of marble with draft-mouldings 0.24 m. wide on their narrow sides were found near by. The estimated width of the door is 2.36 m. and the height 4.70 m.

The architrave was made of two long blocks of marble joining over the central pilaster and on its smooth face was carved the inscription:

"Thrasylos, the son of Thrasylos of Dekeleia, dedicated this; |
 he was victor as choregos with the men of the tribe of Hippothoon, |
 Eyios the Chalkidian played the flute, Neaichmos was archon; |
 Karchidamos the Sotian taught the chorus. |"

Instead of the usual Doric frieze there was a frieze decorated in low relief with eleven alternating wreaths of ivy leaves and fruit and olive leaves and fruit, hanging from the Lesbian kymation which bordered the frieze at the top. The lower border was formed by a projecting band with a row of guttae beneath, the whole was surmounted by a cornice. Above the central axis of the building stood the prize tripod resting on a three-stepped base. Nothing is left of this, but its plan can be recovered from Stuart's drawing.

The interior of the monument consisted of a rock-hewn chamber 6.20 m. wide \times 1.70 m. deep and 6 m. high, in front of the natural cave which in antiquity seems to have been separated from it by a wall. The picture of Apollo and Artemis slaying the children of Niobe which Pausanias mentions was probably frescoed on the walls of this chamber.

Some fifty years after the dedication of the monument by Thrasylos his son, Thrasykles, as agonothetes, won victories with choruses of men and of boys and set up bases of Hymettos marble 2 m. \times 1.48 m. at either side of his father's tripod, inscribed as follows.

On the left-hand base,

The people gave the chorus, Pytharatos was archon; |
 Thrasykles of Dekeleia, the son of Thrasylos, was agonothetes, |
 the tribe of Hippothoon won the victory among the boys, |
 Theon the Theban played the flute, |
 Pronomos the Theban taught the chorus.

On the right-hand base,

The people gave the chorus, Pytharatos was archon; |
 Thrasykles of Dekeleia, the son of Thrasylos, was agonothetes; |
 the tribe of Pandion won the victory among the men; |
 Nikokles of Ambracia played the flute, |
 Lysippos the Arcadian taught the chorus.

The three inscriptions⁸ are still to be found on the left hand as one approaches the monument, close up to the steep rock. The block of Pentelic marble belongs to the original monument of Thrasylos; the other two are the dedications of Thrasykles.

The new part is not an extra storey or attic (as it has sometimes been wrongly called), but is merely the addition of two bases on top of the original monument. Centuries later, as is evident from the careless workmanship of the cornice and the use of Roman mortar, these bases

were remodelled. They are cut to receive the plinths of statues and it is probable that at this time the tripods were all replaced by statues, with the headless seated figure in the British Museum (shown by Stuart in his drawing and variously identified as Dionysos or a woman) occupying the place of the tripod of Thrasyllus for which the monument had been built.⁹

On the rock above the cave stand two tall Corinthian columns of Roman date with triangular capitals for the support of tripods. The cuttings for their feet are clearly visible to anyone looking down over the edge of the Acropolis above.

On the south wall of the Acropolis facing the Theatre was the gilded head of the gorgon Medusa set up by King Antiochus IV and described by Pausanias.¹⁰

Outside the western boundary of the Precinct are foundations which evidently were part of several choregic monuments bordering a street corresponding to the Street of the Tripods. The most impressive of these foundations, situated just south of the east end of the Stoa of Eumenes II, belong to the choregic monument of Nikias the younger who won a victory in 320-319 B.C.¹¹ Many pieces of the superstructure have been discovered near the foundations. The building was T-shaped in plan, *i.e.* with a portico extending beyond the line of the side walls of the small (16.68 m. \times 11.79 m.) cella. It rested on three steps and had a façade of six Doric columns with a pediment above. The central three of the five entablature blocks bore the well-known inscription.¹²

The monument of Lysikrates was absorbed into a Capuchin monastery, the monument of Thrasyllus was converted into a chapel, but the monument of Nikias had the most adventurous life of any, for a large part of its entablature was carried away and built into the Beulé Gate at the western entrance of the Acropolis where it can still be seen. Dr. Dörpfeld, who identified the members built into the gate as a part of the choregic monument of Nikias, thought it had stood above the Odeion of Herodes Atticus in a site where the rock had been artificially levelled for placing the foundation of a building,¹³ but there is now no doubt as to its original position. The tripods dedicated by Nikias the General and his brothers near the Temple of Dionysos¹⁴ apparently stood not far away within the precinct.

Another important building associated with song, though not a choregic monument, was the Odeion, generally known as the Odeion of Perikles. Vitruvius states that it stood near as you went out of the left side of the Theatre, and Andokides in his speech on the Mysteries says that when he passed near the Propylon of Dionysos in the moonlight he saw men going down from the Odeion to the Orchestra.¹⁵ That is to say, it stood east of the Theatre and above the level of the orchestra, where remains of it have been found and partly excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society.¹⁶

It was known to be a large building, as Xenophon relates that on one occasion a number of horsemen with their horses passed the night in it, but the astonishing result of the excavations was the discovery that it was not a circular building as had been generally inferred from references to its having been made in imitation of the tent of Xerxes and from comparisons between its shape and the pointed head of Perikles, but that it was rectangular in plan. The tent-shaped roof consisted therefore of four triangles converging to a point.

The Odeion of Perikles was constructed largely of timber and its total destruction early in the first century B.C. has left little except a few foundations, layers of ashes, fragments of tiles, some nails and some column drums, but the Odeion built shortly afterwards by Ariobarzanes II, King of Cappadocia, followed the earlier model, and the existing remains are those of a large building measuring at least 82 m. on the northern side, which is the only one fully excavated. The north-east corner is clearly marked by the marble orthostates preserved along a large extent of the north side and on part of the eastern.

Enough has been found to show that it was a large hall like the Telesterion at Eleusis, with rows of interior columns, several bases of which have been found. It is now evident that the curious contour of the east side of the Dionysiac Theatre can be explained as having been built to fit around the northwest angle of the Odeion.

The choregic monument of Nikias already mentioned was situated just east of the great supporting wall of the terrace which extended as far west as the Odeion of Herodes Atticus. The wall was built of conglomerate strengthened by forty buttresses in the form of arches. The Greeks were familiar with the principle of the arch at an early date, but they seldom made use of it, preferring rectilinear systems of architecture.

The impressive arches now visible were formerly concealed by a massive wall of poros with a socle and orthostates of Hymettos marble which served as the rear wall of a long stoa some 163 m. long by 17.65 m. deep, known as the Stoa of Eumenes II. At its eastern end the colonnade stops *ca.* 10 m. short of the Theatre and at the western it communicated by means of two doors through the side wall with the Odeion. The colonnade had Doric columns on its front and a row of interior columns. Many drums of these columns were found to the south of the stoa. The details of the entablature are missing but the building is generally believed to have had two storeys.¹⁷

The Odeion of Herodes Atticus was built between Pausanias's visit to Athens (since he does not mention it) and the time when he wrote the account of his other travels. He says it was built by Herodes in memory of his dead wife Regilla and was even finer than that at Patras. Philostratos adds that it had a roof of cedar-wood and was far superior to the Odeion which Herodes Atticus built at Corinth.¹⁸

It formerly was taken for the Theatre of Dionysos until properly identified by Chandler. It has the form of a Roman theatre with a steeply rising semi-circle of seats. The auditorium measures *ca.* 80 m. across and was enclosed in a massive wall of limestone which rose above it and doubtless supported the cedar roof. A *diazoma* 1.20 m. wide divides the rows of seats into twenty below and probably thirteen above, though the upper part is too ruinous for exact information. There were five blocks of seats below the *diazoma* and ten above, divided by staircases. The seats were covered with Pentelic marble, now gone in the upper sections. The front seats have backs and a low step for a footstool. The seating capacity is 5000 or 6000.

The orchestra includes more than a semi-circle, with a diameter of 10 m., and is paved with white and grey-blue marble. At each side a broad marble-paved passage led up eight steps to a room at the south and thence out of doors.

The stage, *ca.* 92 m. wide, 20 m. deep, and 1.10 m. high, had two staircases connecting with the orchestra. Only three steps of the eastern stair remain. The massive wall at the back stands two storeys high everywhere and in some places three storeys. At stage-level it is pierced with three doors and has eight niches, some arched and some rectangular, for statues. The upper storeys are composed of arched windows. A row of columns at a distance of 1.84 m. from the back of the stage seems to have supported a second storey which presumably was the *theologeion*, and in the back wall can be seen holes for its beams.

From this typical Roman Odeion, still used for concerts and dramatic performances, let us return to the Theatre of Dionysos.

CHAPTER XII

The Theatre of Dionysos

THE existing remains of the Theatre of Dionysos are a complex of many periods and the fundamental questions whether there was a raised stage before the time of the Hellenistic theatre and whether the stage buildings in the classical period were of a permanent nature have not yet been settled to everyone's satisfaction.

It is generally agreed that the orchestra with its central altar of Dionysos was originally occupied by both chorus and actors. There is also fairly general agreement that no stone auditorium existed before the Lykourgan theatre in the second half of the fourth century B.C.

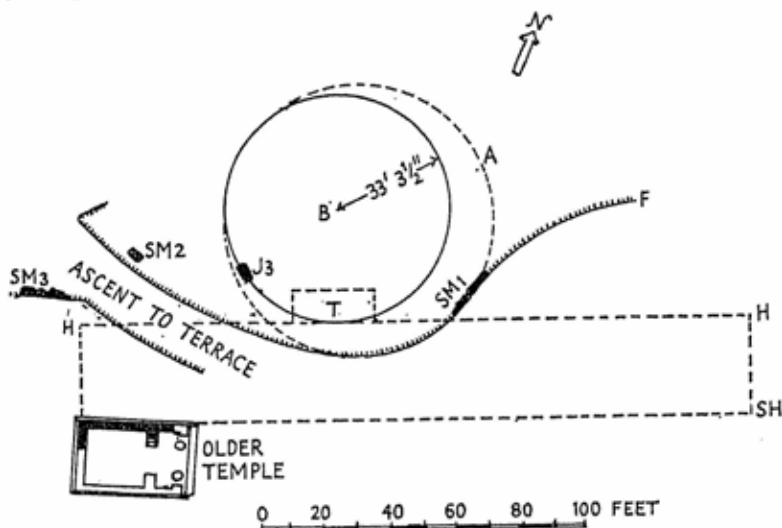


Fig. 15. Earliest Orchestra Theatre

The actual remains on the site may be divided into four periods:
1. Pre-Lykourgan; 2. Lykourgan; 3. Hellenistic; 4. Roman.

The Lykourgan Theatre was built in consequence of a decree of the Boulé in 342 B.C. and completed before the death of Lykourgos in 326 B.C. This leaves a long period of at least a century and a half for the pre-Lykourgan Theatre.

The oldest remains are six blocks (SM 1) of a curved polygonal wall of limestone, generally believed to be sixth-century, some 100 m. east-northeast of the Old Temple of Dionysos, which were identified

by Dörpfeld as part of the original orchestra. By plotting an imaginary circle on the evidence of the stones he met a fragment of wall (J3) on its west side and a cutting (A) in the rock on the east side, north of the six blocks, which he thought were part of the circumference. Many later authorities have rejected the evidence of either A or J3 or both but nearly all agree that SM 1 supported a curved terrace which formed the boundary of the orchestra itself or had an orchestra of smaller circumference placed upon it. A fragment of polygonal masonry (SM 3) similar to the six stones, which is north of the west end of the Old Temple of Dionysos may have sustained a road or path rising from the level of the Temple to that of the orchestra.¹

Before the end of the sixth century the improvements in drama associated with Thespis must have taken place. He competed in the first state-organised performance of tragedy about 534 B.C. and is credited with having introduced an actor in addition to the leader of the chorus and the flute-player of the earlier drama. Temporary structures like tents (*skenai*) or booths doubtless served as dressing rooms, and it is uncertain whether any further provision was made for a background for the action.

Very early performances are known to have taken place in the "Orchestra" or dancing-place in the Agora. Its exact position has not been determined, but it probably was in the spot later occupied by the Odeion (p. 73). The majority of the spectators evidently sat on wooden *ikria* or "bleachers" so insecure that their collapse on one occasion is recorded. The late lexicographers generally give this as the reason for the transfer of the performances at ca. 500 B.C. to the south slope of the Acropolis where there already was the Older Temple in the Precinct of Dionysos and where the natural slopes to the north, east and west of an orchestral circle could be occupied by spectators.

There seems little doubt about the move, but the date is less generally accepted, as many believe the Theatre of Dionysos was already in existence as early as the sixth century, even if some performances formerly held in the "Orchestra" in the Agora were transferred to the south slope after the catastrophe.²

In the first half of the fifth century the number of actors was increased to three and some kind of a *skené* built of wood served as a background. It has been said that a wooden *skené* would not have been adequate for the action of the great tragedies of the fifth century, but no traces of a permanent stone *skené* earlier than the end of that century remain to be seen. Another moot question is how much movable scenery may have been used. Panels or "pinakes" representing a wood or a cave could have been set up against the façade which under ordinary circumstances served as a palace or a house. We must also remember that many conventional uses known to us from vase-paintings and other sources, e.g. a tree for a wood, and a tendency to

general simplification, would have been familiar to a Greek audience and far less disturbing than to a modern audience accustomed to spectacular realism or fantasy of mounting. The introduction of more elaborate scenery with the use of perspective has been attributed by Vitruvius to Agatharchos who he says worked for Aischylos, while Aristotle says scene painting was introduced by Sophokles.³ Agatharchos may well have worked for either or both, for Sophokles first produced plays in 468 B.C., and the latest dramas of Aischylos were put on in 458 B.C. As long as the drama still remained a ritual ceremony for chorus and actors, there was no need of a raised stage for separate performers.

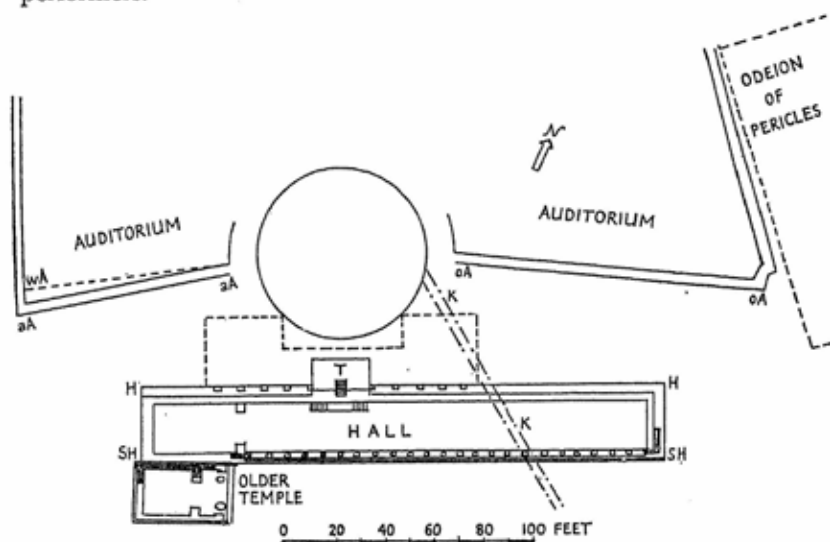


Fig. 16. Periklean Theatre

Before the end of the century, the wooden *skené* gave way to one of stone. The orchestra was moved slightly farther northward and was provided with a straight terrace-wall (H) ca. 62.18 m. long and 0.61 m. thick, built of a single row of breccia blocks laid lengthwise. A little west of its centre and presumably on the axis of the orchestral circle a solid rectangular projection (T) 7.92 m. long extends forward 2.74 m. It is built of breccia and had two rectangular holes, one 0.76 m. square, the other 1.21 m. by 0.77 m., in the floor which were found full of sherds, stones and earth. They may have held supports for the mechanical devices such as the crane (*μηχανή*) that were employed.

In the north face of wall H eight vertical grooves measuring from 0.34 m. to 0.39 m. across are set at approximately equal distances. There would originally have been ten, but the two central ones have

disappeared in later reconstructions. They were doubtless cuttings for posts intended to serve as partial supports for temporary wooden structures built out in front of them on the terrace. A *skené* of wood with a façade showing a central door flanked by one on each side and perhaps with some provision for an upper storey would serve as a background for the actors and would also have concealed T from view.⁴

Resting on a common foundation with the terrace wall (H) and in contact with it was the north wall of a Hall of the same length and an interior breadth of 6.70 m. solidly built with a course of poros and

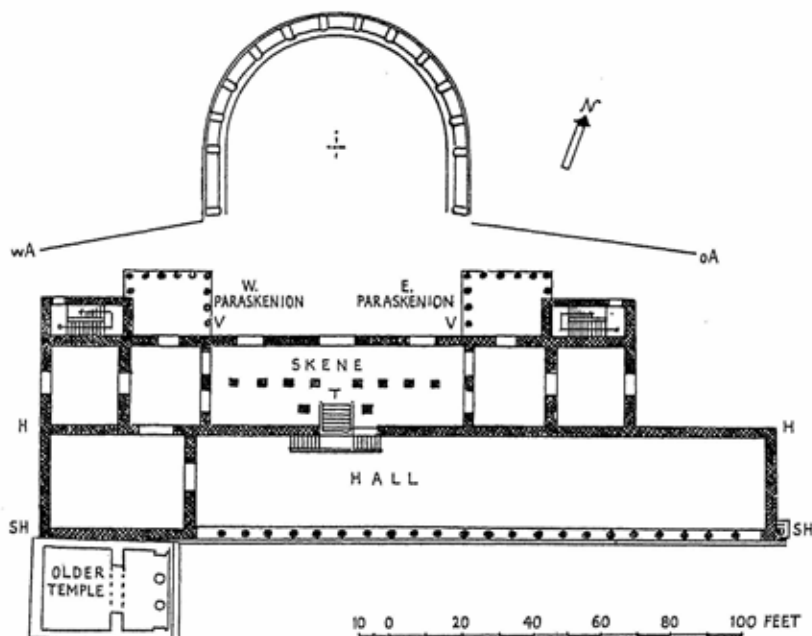


Fig. 17. Lykourgan Theatre

upper courses of Hymettos marble. Its floor was *ca.* 7.50 m. below the level of the orchestra terrace and the Hall was divided by an interior cross-wall to form a smaller room at the western end. Against the outside of the eastern end a supporting wall helped to sustain the thrust of the building. The north wall would have had an opening giving access across T to the orchestra and the difference in levels between the terrace and the floor of the Hall would have required steps. The south side was occupied by a colonnade extending as far as the Old Temple of Dionysos, on whose steps it abuts, and terminating in a solid wall adjacent to the north wall of the Old Temple. Fifth-century sherds found under its north wall suggest that it is of Periklean date.

It is probably the long Stoa referred to by Vitruvius as close to the Theatre. Under the east part of the Hall a water-channel more than 0.60 m. wide ran diagonally from the orchestra and drained the upper level.⁵

The auditorium was now supported by stout walls on the south, west and east, where its curious line with a large jog avoids encroaching on the slightly earlier Odeion of Perikles. The south supporting wall of the auditorium served also as the northern boundary of the *parodoi* (passage-ways) leading in from outside to the orchestra and auditorium. Greater comfort for the spectators was provided by improving the natural slope of the surrounding ground with terraces of earth (evidence for two survives) on which movable seats could be placed. In the Theatre of Lykourgos modifications were made in all three parts of the Theatre.⁶

The Orchestra measured 19.61 m. in diameter, but the area has been re-used so much that we do not know whether it had a stone border like that at Epidauros or with what it was surfaced. It may still have been of beaten earth; if it was paved, none of the slabs of this period remain.

The auditorium underwent a complete remodelling. The east and west portions of its south wall, formerly not in perfect alignment, were straightened out. The west wall, which in the fifth-century Theatre was built of breccia blocks strengthened by buttresses, was now made double with an outer wall of poros. How far to the north it extended is a question, some think it went as far as the *κατατομή* (scarped rock), others make its upper boundary the *diazoma*. In any case, the seats above the latter were presumably rock-cut. The *diazoma* was some 4.56 m. wide and really formed part of the circuit road (*περίπατος*) round the Acropolis. It is so high up the slope that it would have made a most unequal division of the auditorium and it is only natural to suppose that another *diazoma* was situated farther down. The east wall, whose unusual contour has already been noted, was extended northwards as far as the Acropolis rock.

In the main part of the auditorium the seats were arranged in thirteen *kerkides* (wedges) divided by twelve stairways 0.69 m. wide and bordered by two others. The stairs had only one step to each row of seats and each step was cut with parallel horizontal grooves to prevent slipping. The seats, except for the first row, were of poros with the profile usual in most theatres. The flat front part on which the spectators sat measured about 0.33 m. in depth and in height, but as this is rather too low for comfort, it is generally assumed that cushions were used to make the seats higher. The middle part was hollowed *ca.* 0.04 m. for the feet to rest on and the face of the seat was undercut some 0.10 m. to give additional foot room. The seats were presumably arranged in seventy-eight rows and the estimated number of spectators

varies from 14,000 to 17,000, the former number allowing about 0.50 m. for each person.

The front row was occupied by Pentelic marble thrones, sixty-seven in number arranged with six at the end of each of the outermost *kerkides* and five at the ends of each of the others. Of the sixty still in the theatre fourteen were found in position. They appear to date mostly from the first century B.C. and are presumably exact copies of fourth-century originals. The inscriptions are mostly Hellenistic or Roman, but there are some traces of earlier ones partly erased. Practically all are well enough preserved to show the arrangement of the places for the numerous priests and other officials.

The central position belonged of course to the Priest of Dionysos Eleutherios and even in its present damaged condition the throne still shows the beauty of its elaborate carving. The front legs end in lions' paws, the sides of the seat have a flat volute ending at the rear in a goose's head turned under, the arms of the throne are sculptured on the outside with a winged boy and cock, the back (of which the top is gone but which doubtless terminated in a palmette as did a similar throne from Delos) has two satyrs back to back with a grape vine between them. The front of the seat has a relief of two winged griffins, each facing a kneeling human figure which seizes the griffin's neck in one hand while he holds a sacrificial knife in the other. Holes for supports for footstools are found in front of many seats and some have holes for the erection of a canopy or awning.

In front of the seats ran a passage-way for the spectators to reach the stairs to the seats. It was *ca.* 2.50 m. broad at the outer ends in the *parodoi* and narrowed down to 1.25 m. at the axis of the Theatre in front of the throne of Dionysos. Its pavement sloped towards the orchestra to carry off the surplus water and a step 0.25 m. high led down to the level of the covering of the drainage channel. This channel, built carefully of poros, is 0.96 m. broad at the bottom by 0.87 m. deep at the southwest limit and 1.10 m. at the southeast. It then drops suddenly to run under the *skené* in a southeast direction through the *temenos*.

Opposite each staircase the orchestra was reached by bridges of poros, whose intervening spaces were generally left open until in Roman times they were covered with slabs of marble. As this would have been very dangerous when the theatre was in use, doubtless there were temporary wooden covers. The inner edge of the upper stones of the wall of the channel are inscribed with the letters of the alphabet, probably indicating where the wooden covers were to be placed.⁷

The greatest innovation at this period was the use of stone for stage buildings of a more permanent character. In nearly all periods breccia, poros and Hymettos marble are used (later Pentelic was added), and

at one time the combination of the first three materials was taken as a sure indication of fourth-century work, but there is plenty of evidence for this combination at other periods and the material in the Theatre was so often re-used that opinions differ greatly about the dating of the same structure or parts of it.

The Lykourgan *skené* was a large building back to back with the long Stoa of Periklean date.⁸ Its rear wall was provided by wall H-H of the earlier *skené* and its front wall rested on four courses of breccia blocks. The central structure was 46.33 m. long by 6.40 m. wide, but whether it was one long hall with a row of square piers arranged lengthwise or was divided at the east and west ends into smaller rooms is uncertain.

At each end of the central part (V-V) of the front wall a rectangular room or *paraskenion* extended northward, flanked by narrow rooms running east and west, probably for stairs to the upper storey. The façade V-V is usually restored as a solid wall with three doors through it. The *paraskenia* measured 7 m. by 5 m. and left a space of ca. 20 m. between them for the façade of the *skené*. There is good evidence that their north walls were moved farther back in the Hellenistic reconstruction and the marks of two sets of columns are visible on the stylobate. The generally accepted view is that there were six columns on each north front and four on the east face of the west *paraskenion* and on the west face of the east *paraskenion*. The columns were centered over the joints of the stylobate and had a lower diameter of 0.51 m. and an estimated height of about 3.06 m. The architrave, of which pieces remain, was 0.72 m. high, but no blocks of a cornice have been found. The broken shafts of the two westernmost columns of the Hellenistic façade are still standing on the stylobate, but not exactly in their original position.

The *parodoi* were ca. 2.60 m. wide at their narrowest point, at the corners of the *paraskenia*, and were adorned with statues and votive dedications.⁹ About half of the inscribed statue-base of the tragic poet Astydamas the younger who won a victory in 341 B.C., is in place at the east end of the west *parodos*, cut to fit into the coping of the wall (wA).

A Pentelic marble base that had been built into a wall at the back of the stage of Phaedrus bears the inscription "Menander. Kephisodotos and Timarchos made it." They were the sons of Praxiteles and the statue presumably once stood in the *parodos* along with many others of tragic and comic poets, great and small.

There were also statues of celebrities like Themistokles and Miltiades, either of whom may have been the bronze general beside whom Diokleides crouched on a moonlight night and saw the impious burlesque of the Mysteries in the orchestra.

The Lykourgan Theatre was subsequently transformed into its

Hellenistic form with a raised stage, some placing the change in the third century, others not until the first century B.C. A wall for a new *proskenenion* was built ca. 2 m. in front of V-V and the size of the *paraskenia* was reduced by moving their north fronts back ca. 1.75 m., transforming the *skené* from a façade deeply recessed between the *paraskenia* to what was almost a straight line, the projection of the *paraskenia* now being practically negligible. Only the foundations of the *proskenenion* are left and the question is what stood on them. Was it a wall that supported a narrow raised stage, and left the Lykourgan

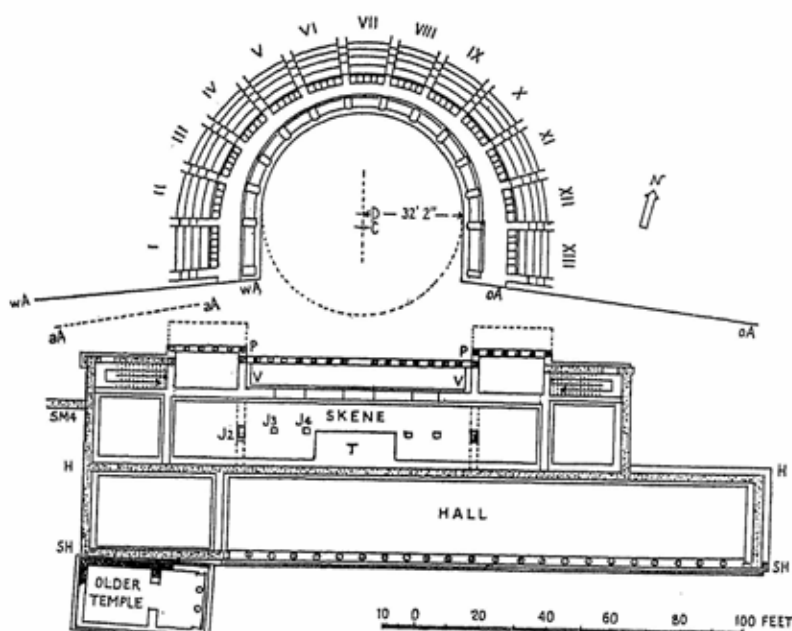


Fig. 18. Hellenistic Theatre

skéné to serve as its background, or was the wall itself a background for action still on the level of the orchestra?

Nearly all agree that a row of fourteen columns extended across the façade with a wider interval between the central two. They rested on a stylobate of Hymettos marble of which most of the blocks are preserved though some are re-used. Several bear marks for the setting of the columns and cuttings on two of them were presumably for the fitting at different times of a narrower and a wider double door.¹⁰

Since there is no positive evidence proving when the Lykourgan theatre was changed to the Hellenistic form with a raised stage, the date is chiefly a matter of inference or guesswork based either on the material remains or on the supposed needs of the drama. The nature of

the former is such that they may be of any date from the third century to the time of the Roman remodelling of the Theatre and a major work of reconstruction is preferably associated with a period of activity in building, such as took place in the time of Attalos or Eumenes in the middle of the second century or of Ariobarzanes whose reconstruction of the Odeion of Perikles belongs early in the first century B.C. after the destruction of Athens by Sulla. We do not know whether Ariobarzanes also restored the Theatre (or how much injury it may have suffered) but part of a column with an inscription in his honour was found in

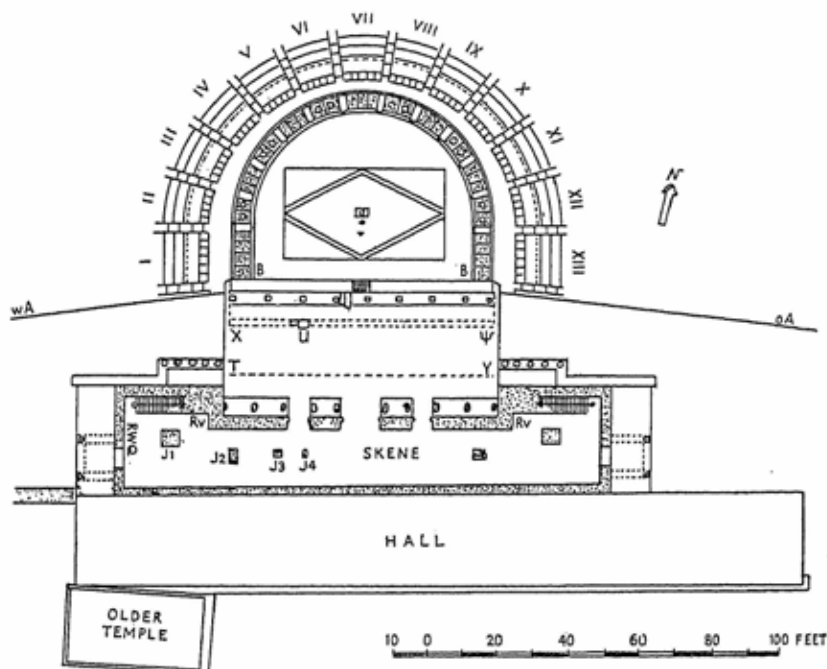


Fig. 19. Roman Theatre

1862 in a late wall in the *skené* and now lies near the Later Temple of Dionysos. It is unlikely that so important a change as the introduction of a stage was deferred until so late, and a date in the middle of the second century, before the construction of the very similar theatre in Peiraeus which is generally agreed to belong to that time, would be preferable also for that in Athens.

As for the drama, we know that the general tendency was for the importance of the chorus to diminish and that of the actors to increase. The advantage of a raised stage both to actors and spectators when drama was no longer a choral religious ceremony is obvious, but when the change in the nature of drama began is more than can be proved.

We know from inscriptions that the old tragedies continued to be presented at least as late as the third century B.C., but we do not know how much they may have been changed and whether the choruses were omitted or not. The New Comedy certainly was not choral, yet there are many who think that the introduction of a stage came after the death of Menander, whose plays presumably were presented on the level of the orchestra and would not have required a stage.

No such uncertainty about the date exists for the radical changes made in Roman times,¹¹ which may definitely be assigned to two periods, that of Nero in the first century A.D. and that of Phaedrus a century or more later.

The evidence for the former is found on an architrave block which apparently belonged to the central part of the new *scaenae frons* on which the dedication to Dionysos Eleuthericus (an unusual variant of this title) and the Emperor Nero (the latter's name erased later) is recorded.

Behind wall V-V on the foundations of the Lykourgan *scaenae frons* are those of a strong Roman wall (Rv-Rv) of limestone. Similar foundations behind the *paraskenia* on top of the breccia foundations project east and west of the respective *paraskenia* and form the north wall of a building whose south wall rested on H-H. The west wall of the building is interrupted by a double gateway, ca. 5 m. wide, with some of its Hymettos marble threshold, the base of the central pillar of the door and fragments of round arches still preserved. The wall at the east, corresponding to this, is missing. The exact length of the *scaenae frons* and its relation to the *paraskenia* are uncertain. Surviving fragments lying about show that in its lower storey it had two projecting porches, each corresponding to a door leading into the *skené*, and in the upper storey two or three, each with a gable. The *aediculae* or porches were supported by columns of two types, either oval in shape or semi-circular engaged against a rectangular pillar. It is uncertain whether the *aediculae* were deep or shallow, or even (as Dörpfeld believed) not really *aediculae* at all but part of the *proskénion*. The result is great variation in the restorations.

A stage or *logeion* of the Roman type some 1.50 m. high extended in front of the *scaenae frons*, but its northern limit is uncertain, though it may have gone as far as the line of the later bema of Phaedrus.

The orchestra in Neronian times was surfaced with marble, including a rhombus which would have been disproportionately close to the line of the bema. The rhombus, which is made of coloured marble slabs smaller than those in the rest of the orchestra, has a rectangular slab in the centre with a circular depression, probably for a small altar. At this time or later a marble barrier ca. 0.84 m. high in front of the central thrones and 1.10 m. high at the outer ends was erected round the orchestra, doubtless as a protection in gladiatorial and other shows.

It was pierced at intervals for the escape of water into the channel which now was covered with large slabs of marble, some of them perforated in a rosette design. Small holes at intervals in the pavement round the orchestra may have been for posts.

The "bema of Phaedrus",¹² which at least from his time remained the front of the Roman stage is preserved to only half its length. Its north face, *ca.* 1.44 m. high, is a continuous foundation with a wall of poros that forms the background for four groups of figures in relief divided by niches, into one of which a crouching Silenus has been forcibly fitted. A heavy cornice runs along the top and the heads of the figures on the reliefs have been cut off to make them fit under it. At the east end, (the original centre) are four steps, the uppermost of which bears an inscription dedicating "this noble bema" to Dionysos by Phaedrus at some time between the end of the second and the end of the fourth century A.D. All are agreed that the noble bema dedicated by Phaedrus cannot have been the one we see now with the decapitated reliefs and it is generally thought that this vandalism probably took place at the time when the orchestra was converted into a watertight basin for *naumachiai* (naval contests). When found in 1862 the figures were plastered with cement and traces of reddish cement are still visible in places on the wall and under adjacent parts of the orchestra.

The bema consists of three walls, the middle one, either of Neronian date or some time soon after, is the oldest. Closely connected with it are nine small shafts of brickwork intended for the posts used in operating the large curtain customary in theatres of Imperial times. Next in date was the wall of the bema of Phaedrus whose stage level was somewhat higher than it was later. Finally, the whole façade was levelled to its present height, the figures cut down and a reinforcing wall built at the rear to support the water pressure. The small staircase in which the inscription of Phaedrus is used as the top step belongs to this time.

The reliefs of the bema are too well known to need much description. They are Attic work of about the middle of the second century A.D. obviously intended for another place, perhaps the sides of an altar. All have to do with the story and worship of Dionysos.

- (1) Hermes brings the infant Dionysos to Zeus in the presence of two kouretes who were at the birth,
- (2) Dionysos, clad in chiton, panther skin and kothurnoi, is accompanied by Ikarios and his daughter Erigone, who shared in the introduction of his worship,
- (3) Marriage of Dionysos and Basilinna at Athens, with Tyche carrying a cornucopia,
- (4) Enthronement of Dionysos in the Theatre in the presence of his bride, Theseus the representative of Athens and Tyche.

The aspect of the auditorium must have been considerably modified by the addition of a second row of thrones, many of them copies of fourth century originals and all inscribed with the titles of their respective priests, and by the erection of numerous statues. Behind the throne of Dionysos Eleutherios stood Hadrian who visited Athens in A.D. 126, and other imperial portraits included Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. There were also many colossal figures of Muses and sileni which must have been very much in the way of the spectators.

The whole appearance of the Theatre as the scene of gladiatorial and naval contests surrounded by a forest of statues had changed greatly from the old simple place of worship of Dionysos Eleutherios.

CHAPTER XIII

The South and Southwest Slopes of the Acropolis

THE imposing terrace¹ supported by the Stoa of Eumenes extends northwards to the Acropolis rock and carries on its south side the great road (*Peripatos*) from the point where it leaves the west side of the Theatre to where it reaches the east side of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus and there passes, in narrowed form, above the auditorium. This long terrace rises from east to west in a series of three broad low steps and is bounded on the south by a wall of excellent polygonal masonry preserved for several long stretches and standing in places to a height of *ca.* 1.50 m. which also served as the northern boundary of the *Peripatos* and probably dates to the latter part of the sixth century B.C. Built into it is a stone bearing the inscription $\begin{matrix} \text{HOPOΣ} \\ \text{KPENES} \end{matrix}$ (boundary of the spring) in letters of the fifth century.²

There were in this area two wells or springs, the more westerly of which, in a line directly north of the inscribed stone, consists of a rectangular shaft built of fine polygonal masonry of Peisistratean date. It measures *ca.* 2.50 m. from north to south, but has been destroyed on its west side by a huge mediaeval or Turkish cistern so that its original length is unknown. In 1876 it was excavated to a depth of 3-3.50 m., where water prevented going deeper, but it has now become filled up again to a depth of *ca.* 1.50 m. Although often called a cistern, it has no traces of cement lining, but the thin layer of a lime deposit on the walls suggests that water had oozed into it from the sides as well as from below. It was evidently the site of the ancient sacred spring referred to in the inscription.

On the slightly lower eastern terrace the polygonal wall continues in the same line as far as the theatre where a wall at right angles to it bounds the Temenos of Asklepios on the east, but this part of the wall differs both in details of construction and in thickness from the part farther west and evidently was erected slightly later to include all of the eastern terrace within the Temenos. Thus we have an earlier terrace (generally called part of the Pelargikon) at the West and a later one, the Temenos of Asklepios at the east, each with its limiting boundary wall.

Within the latter³ were the Temple of Asklepios and Hygieia, the altar, the great Doric stoa (*abaton*) which included the sacred *bothros* and, at the back within a cave, a sacred spring, and a smaller stoa of Roman date.

SOUTH SIDE OF THE ACROPOLIS

- 1 Boundary stone
- 2 Ancient spring
- 3 Temple of Asklepios
- 4 Altar
- 5 Doric Stoa
- 6 Bothros
- 7 Sacred Spring
- 8 Ionic Building
- 9 Small Temple
- 10 " "

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80M

Fig. 20. The South Side of the Acropolis

The most conspicuous building is the long stoa (49.965 m. \times 9.75 m.)⁴ which occupies most of the north side of the precinct. The extant walls represent only part of its original length which extended eastwards to the rock. The stoa was later built upon by a large early Christian basilica which included most of the area of the Temenos and utilised some of the stoa foundations (breccia, with euthynteria of poros and stylobate of Hymettos marble) for those of the church. Originally there were seventeen Doric columns on the façade, which were later replaced by slenderer, only partly fluted, columns set at wider intervals. These later columns formerly had belonged to the same building from which were taken the columns used in the interior

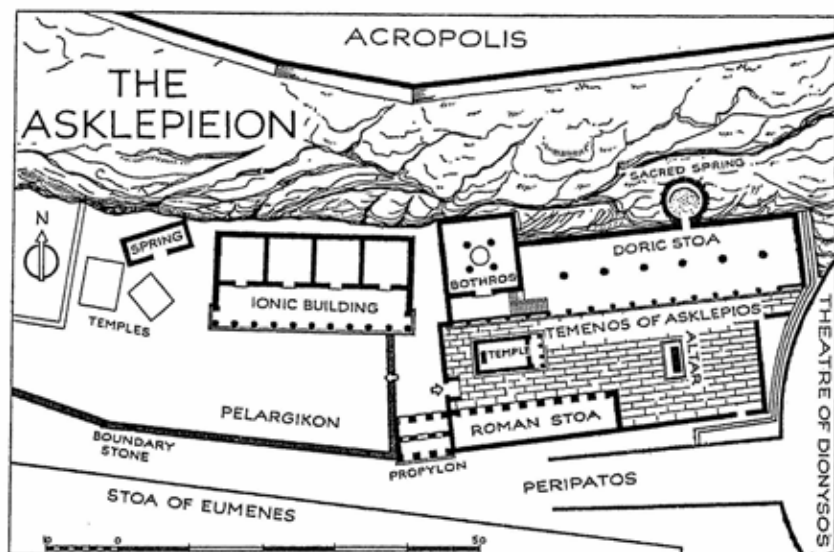


Fig. 21. The Asklepieion, Restored Plan

of the Parthenon at the time when the naos was remodelled in the Roman period.⁵ An inner row of Ionic columns, in which the intercolumnations are twice as great as those on the Doric façade, divided the stoa longitudinally. The back (north) and east walls of the stoa were built of limestone faced with orthostates and coping of Hymettos marble.

Behind the colonnade (at 1) a circular chamber 4.90 m. in diameter with a domed roof has been hollowed out of the Acropolis rock in what was a natural cave with a sacred spring. It must have existed from early days and its use has continued into Christian times. During the Turkish occupation of Athens all the area on the south slope was included within their fortifications (Serpentze), but after the liberation of Greece the little chapel came into use again and devout worshippers

still burn their candles at the shrine. The water which issues from the north side of the cave flowed into a balustraded channel that ran round the north half of the circle and the surplus flowed out beneath the south entrance and was piped under the Stoa and across the precinct to the *agiasma* in the southern side of the Basilica, thus carrying over into the Christian worship the use of purificatory water. When the cave was converted to a chapel, a small niche for the Panagia was cut in the north side above the source of the spring and the interior of the cave was plastered for fresco paintings, some traces of which still remain.⁶

The stoa was two storeys high, with staircases at each end leading to the upper floor which was *ca.* 6 m. higher. At the western end the rear wall has been set back 4.30 m. farther than the line of the rest of the stoa to form a chamber *ca.* 9.65 m. square incorporating what must have been one of the earliest monuments in the precinct. Cut into a square platform 4.45 m. above the stylobate was a circular pit, *ca.* 2.70 m. in diameter and 2.20 m. deep, lined with well-fitted polygonal masonry of Acropolis limestone, and it appears to have served as a sacrificial *bothros*, although a recent careful search has found no traces of bones or sherds.⁷ The ring of stones round its mouth had four oddly projecting corners on each of which stood a low column base of Hymettos marble.

About the middle of the fifth century A.D. a large three-aisled Christian basilica built in the Temenos⁸ used the foundations of the interior row of columns in the Doric stoa for its north wall, the front of the Stoa for the support of a row of columns dividing its north aisle from the nave, the north wall of the Roman Stoa to divide the nave from the south aisle and the south wall of the Roman Stoa for the south wall of the church.

The eastern walls of the church are in line with the east pier at the entrance to the spring, and a large apse terminates the nave. The east wall of the narthex rested mostly on the west boundary of the precinct and was stepped back at its north part to rest on the west wall of the Doric Stoa, while its west wall rested on the east wall of the adjacent Pelargikon, thus occupying the open space between Temenos and Pelargikon into which the Propylaea had given entrance from the south.

Since not only foundations but other material from the ancient buildings were used in the Basilica, it is not surprising that little has survived in its original condition. The visible remains are predominantly early Christian and Byzantine, particularly the massive structure which rests on the north wall of the Doric Stoa and extends 24 m. eastward from the ancient *bothros*. Its eastern part consists of a thick wall backed against the Acropolis rock, and its western part has six shallow rectangular niches arched above. Through the thick east

wall an arched doorway leads to the spring chamber. Opposite the six niches are arched recesses in the line of the interior columns of the stoa. Thus to the north of the Christian Basilica there was a large hall to which (and to its spring) there was access from the Basilica itself.

East of the Basilica the remaining area of the Temenos became an open court and west of the narthex a colonnaded atrium bounded on the west by the old dividing wall between Temenos and Pelargikon incorporated the remains of the Ionic Stoa on its northern side.

The old healing sanctuary with its spring, abaton and supplementary halls evidently carried on the same traditions under Christianity. Similar transformations of Asklepieia into Christian religious health centres are found at Corinth, Epidauros, Troizen and elsewhere.⁹

There is no actual evidence to show which saint succeeded to the healing god, but the most probable candidates are Saints Kosmas and Damian, the doctors, known as the "Anargyroi" (Penniless) because they treated patients free, who are known from other churches to have been popular in Athens from early times.¹⁰

South of the Doric Stoa, and lying parallel to it, is the temple itself, a small building (10.40 m. \times 6 m.) of which only the foundations remain; to the east, about 17 m. distant from the temple is a large (6 m. \times 3.50 m.) structure carelessly built of miscellaneous materials which appears to have been an altar with a platform for the officiating priests at the west.¹¹

South of the Temple are the scanty remains of a stoa of Roman date which was *ca.* 13 m. long by 5 m. broad and probably had eight columns along the façade. Inscribed fragments of the epistyle have been identified.¹²

In addition to the vast number of architectural members and fragments which still lie within the precinct, the study of which has contributed so greatly to the reconstruction of the former sanctuary, an enormous amount of other material, *e.g.* inscriptions recording miraculous cures, reliefs of the throned god and his crowds of grateful worshippers, has been found. They furnish admirable illustrations of the *Ploutos* of Aristophanes, the scene of which was laid here.

On the slightly higher western terrace more than half of the north part is occupied by a building (28 m. \times 14 m.) consisting of a row of four square rooms paved with pebble mosaic with an Ionic portico in front, open to the south but closed at both ends.¹³ On the foundations of poros two steps of Hymettos marble are still preserved at the southwest corner, together with the base of the southwest column. This building has often been called the house of the priests and other officials of the sanctuary, but more probably was another dwelling for patients, of which there must have been many. Formerly it was thought to be a late addition of the second century B.C., but a detailed study of the meagre remains, especially the Ionic base and a capital that can with

certainly be attributed to the stoa, indicates that it was built between the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth, or soon after the foundation of the sanctuary in 420 B.C. and earlier than the Doric Stoa. To the west of this building are the spring and cistern already mentioned.

South of the cistern are the remains of two small buildings;¹⁴ one facing southeast is a small temple apparently *in antis* (5.06 m. \times 4.25 m.), with foundations of breccia and upper part of Kará stone, of good workmanship and generally admitted to be older than any of the buildings on the east terrace. With it probably belongs a breccia foundation east of it which may have been an altar or the base of an offering. A little to the west and facing to the south are the remains of another temple of about the same size, which, judging from the careless construction and miscellaneous materials used, must be of late Roman or mediaeval date. There still remains one poros step of its façade, with a step of Hymettos marble above it. The identification of these small temples is still uncertain. The former was at first called the Temple of Themis, which most authorities agree must have been situated farther west; others regard it as the earliest temple of Asklepios.¹⁵

Although none of the extant buildings on the lower (east) terrace is earlier than the fourth century B.C.,¹⁶ we know from inscriptions that the cult of Asklepios was introduced before the close of the fifth century.

Unfortunately the inscriptions concerning the foundation of the Asklepion are much mutilated and the restorations are not always certain, but it seems clear that in 420-419 B.C. a certain Telemachos of Acharnae established the sanctuary of Asklepios and his family, at his own expense, that the sanctuary was ready in the following year, and that further additions or repairs were undertaken for a period of several years after.¹⁷

More information about the precinct is furnished in a decree of 51-50 B.C. in which a certain Diokles who had been elected priest of Asklepios was permitted to make repairs at his own expense to certain parts of the precinct which had become dilapidated, and to put up inscriptions recording what he had done.¹⁸ The Council allowed him "to set up the doors anew, to roof the back part of the portal, and to repair the old temple". Earlier in the inscription the temple is referred to as "the ancient foundation of Asklepios and Hygeia" and said to be "opposite the entrance", and mention is also made of "the earlier entrance to the sanctuary" and of Diokles's desire "to restore the ancient arrangement to the precinct". Wooden doors ($\xi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\tau\upsilon\lambda\iota\alpha$) and two entrances had already been mentioned in the early decree of Telemachos, and they must have needed constant attention in the course of centuries.

The phrase "ancient foundation of Asklepios and Hygeia" causes some doubt as to whether it means the original fifth century temple built by Telemachos of which the extant fourth century Temple is the successor, or if it refers to a foundation earlier than that of Telemachos.

The god was introduced from Epidauros and had a temple in Peiraeus and possibly a temple in Athens before he was given a large precinct of his own, for we know he was worshipped along with the Eleusinian deities. If, as some think, the small temple was his oldest one, it would explain why the Ionic Stoa could be built within the western temenos and even encroached on its east wall. There were, however, some disputes over control, for the Pelargikon was administered by the Kerykes of Eleusis, and the matter was settled by making the definite enclosures.¹⁹

The entrance (Propylon) to the precinct must have been from the only place where there is a considerable interruption of the polygonal wall, that is, between the boundaries of the Pelargikon on the west and the Temenos of Asklepios on the east.²⁰ A large entrance from the south would lead to the open space between the enclosures, each of which would be accessible by its own smaller entrance on east and west respectively. There are unfortunately no remains of this early Propylon, but the considerable remains of architectural members belonging to one of Roman date on this spot indicate that the Roman gate probably stood on the site of the earlier one.

After visiting the Asklepicion, Pausanias²¹ mentions on his way towards the Acropolis a Temple (naos) of Themis and near it (in front, πρὸ) a mound (*mnema*) of Hippolytos, statues and therefore presumably sanctuaries, of Aphrodite Pandemos and Persuasion, of Gé Kourotrophos and of Green Demeter. He speaks only of a *mnema* of Hippolytos, but beside it was the sanctuary of Aphrodite in memory of Hippolytos, said to have been founded by Phaidra and described by Euripides (*Hipp.* 30, ff. scholiast) as within the sight of Troizen. This part of the south slope has been thoroughly explored and no traces of any ancient structures except terrace walls have been found. If, as is generally believed, the area was included within the Pelargikon, in which it was unlawful to build without permission, their absence is easily accounted for. We know, however, from inscriptions that there were altars and other shrines here, and it has been suggested that they were probably portable ones. Such might well have been the sanctuaries of Hippolytos and of Aphrodite ἐφ' ἱππολύτῳ each a simple temenos with a moveable altar.²²

As to the probable site of Aphrodite Pandemos there is better evidence. Inscriptions dealing with the worship of Aphrodite Pandemos found between the Niké bastion and the south tower of the Beulé Gate make it probable that the sanctuary stood near the southwest corner of the Acropolis.²³ One of these, dating to the fourth century,

is on a fragment of a Pentelic marble architrave adorned with a row of doves carrying a fillet and containing part of a metrical dedication to Aphrodite Pandemos "great and holy" and the names of the dedicators, one of whom was Menekrateia the priestess. The other, on a stele of Hymettos marble, in the archonship of Euthios in 283 B.C. and in the priestesship of Hegesipyle, directs the *astynomoi* on the occasion of the procession of Aphrodite Pandemos to provide a dove for the purification of the shrine, to have the altars annointed, cover the roofs with pitch, wash the statues and furnish a certain weight of purple dye. The inscriptions show that the cult of Aphrodite Pandemos was an official one, administered by respectable citizens and not by courtesans as believed by those who wished to distinguish between Aphrodite Pandemos (Vulgar or Earthly) and Aphrodite Ourania (heavenly).

A further confirmation of this site for the cult has been given by the discovery of a number of terracotta figurines of Aphrodite on the upper part of the west slope of the Acropolis. The precinct probably extended from the line of the Niké bastion and the south tower of the Beulé Gate as far north as the "Pelagian" wall running east and west in the axis of the Propylaea, and was bounded on the east by the winding approach to the entrance. The statues mentioned in the inscription might well have been the old statues which Pausanias said no longer existed in his time but whose successors he admired.

Near at hand must have been the sanctuary of Gé Kourotrophos and Demeter Chloë. An inscription found in a Turkish tower near the Temple of Niké records the dedication to the people of an entrance to a common *sekos* of the Kourotrophos and a mysterious goddess Blauté. Blauté was an epithet of Aphrodite derived from the Semitic Balaat and equivalent to Despoina or Potnia.²⁴ Inscriptions show that Gé Kourotrophos was worshipped with Demeter Chloë and that Blauté (or Aphrodite) was associated with the Kourotrophos and considering the close affinity between the natures of these deities, the conclusion that they all may have shared a common sanctuary is a natural one.²⁵ These sanctuaries are the last ones mentioned by Pausanias before he ascends to the Acropolis, but before following his example a word should be said about the Pelargikon.

This restricted area round the Acropolis has in its time been the subject of fierce controversy,²⁶ first as to how long it continued to be a fortified place and second how far it extended along the north and south slopes, for all agreed that it had originally been part of the defences and connected with the Nine Gates, generally believed to have been on the west side of the Acropolis. Few scholars now think it continued to be fortified after a wall had been built around the whole city, but it apparently was a reserved area with strict taboos about its occupation, until at the time of the Peloponnesian War it was filled with refugees from the surrounding countryside. Thucydides tells how

they came crowding into it despite the old Delphic oracle which said "Better the Pelargikon left empty".

After the Peace of Nikias (421 B.C.) a decree was passed making it illegal to take stones (either from the quarries or lying on the ground) or earth (which had been thrown down from the Acropolis during building operations or had accumulated in the course of time, or had been dug as clay out of the pits), from the Pelargikon. Even the cutting of grass in it had to be forbidden. These matters were all put under the care of the Archon Basileus.²⁷

For the extent of the Pelargikon the classic source is Lucian's account (*Pisc.* 42) of the needy philosophers scrambling up to the Acropolis for their dole along the Pelargikon, some from the Asklepion, some from the Grave of Talos, others along by the Areopagus and others climbing up by ladders from the Anakeion. That the Pelargikon extended from the Anakeion on the north side to the Asklepion on the south seems clearly indicated. It must have been close under the Acropolis, as Lucian (*Bis. Acc.* 9) tells us that Pan's cave was a little above it, and he also (*Pisc.* 47) describes Philosophy sitting on the Acropolis wall fishing for philosophers below and being asked whether she is fishing for stones in the Pelargikon. It can hardly have been a very wide strip, for on the south, at least, it was bounded by the *Peripatos*, and the same was probably true on the north as well.

In addition to this road the principal thoroughfares of the city were the Panathenaic Way and the roads which ran through the west part of the Agora and between the Areopagus and the Pnyx, continuing probably by a wide loop up to the Acropolis. These roads must have converged at a fairly level stopping place before proceeding to the last part of the climb. Everyone agrees that the early entrance to the Acropolis was west of the Niké bastion where the worn surface of the rock and the footholds for the animals can still be seen.

The building of the Beulé Gate and the construction of the mediaeval and Turkish fortifications as well as modern road making and grading have changed the old appearance of the western approach and it is difficult to know whether the presumable stopping place was to the west, or, as Professor Keramopoulos thinks,²⁸ to the southwest above the Odeion of Herodes Atticus where there is evidence that the rock had been somewhat levelled in antiquity.

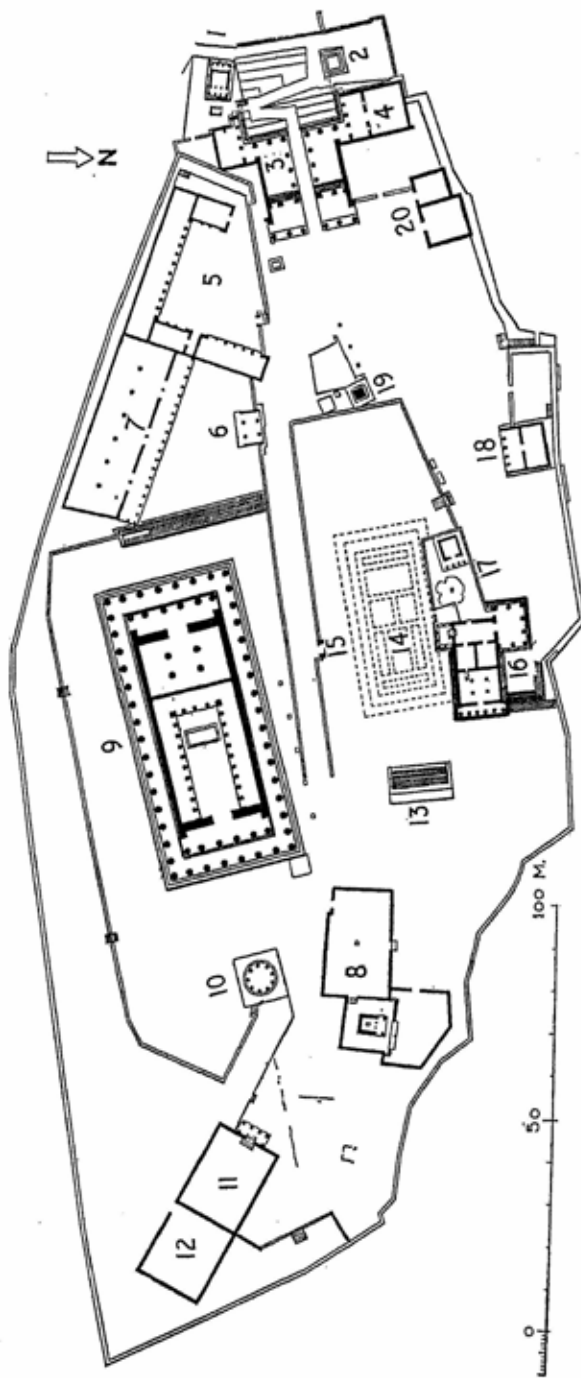


Fig. 22. Key Plan for the Model of the Acropolis

1. Niké Temple. 2. So called Monument of Agrippa. 3. Propylaea. 4. Picture Gallery. 5. Sanctuary of the Brauronia Artemis. 6 Propylon. 7 Chalkotheke. 8. Precinct of Zeus Polieus and Boukoleion. 9. Parthenon. 10. Temple of Roma. 11. Heroon of Pandion. 12. Service. 13. Great Altar of Athena. 14. Old Temple of Athena. 15. Propylon. 16. Erechtheum. 17. Pandroseum, Temple of Pandrosos, Sacred Olive Tree, Cecropium. 18. Dwelling of the Arrephori. 19. Promachos. 20. Service Building (?)

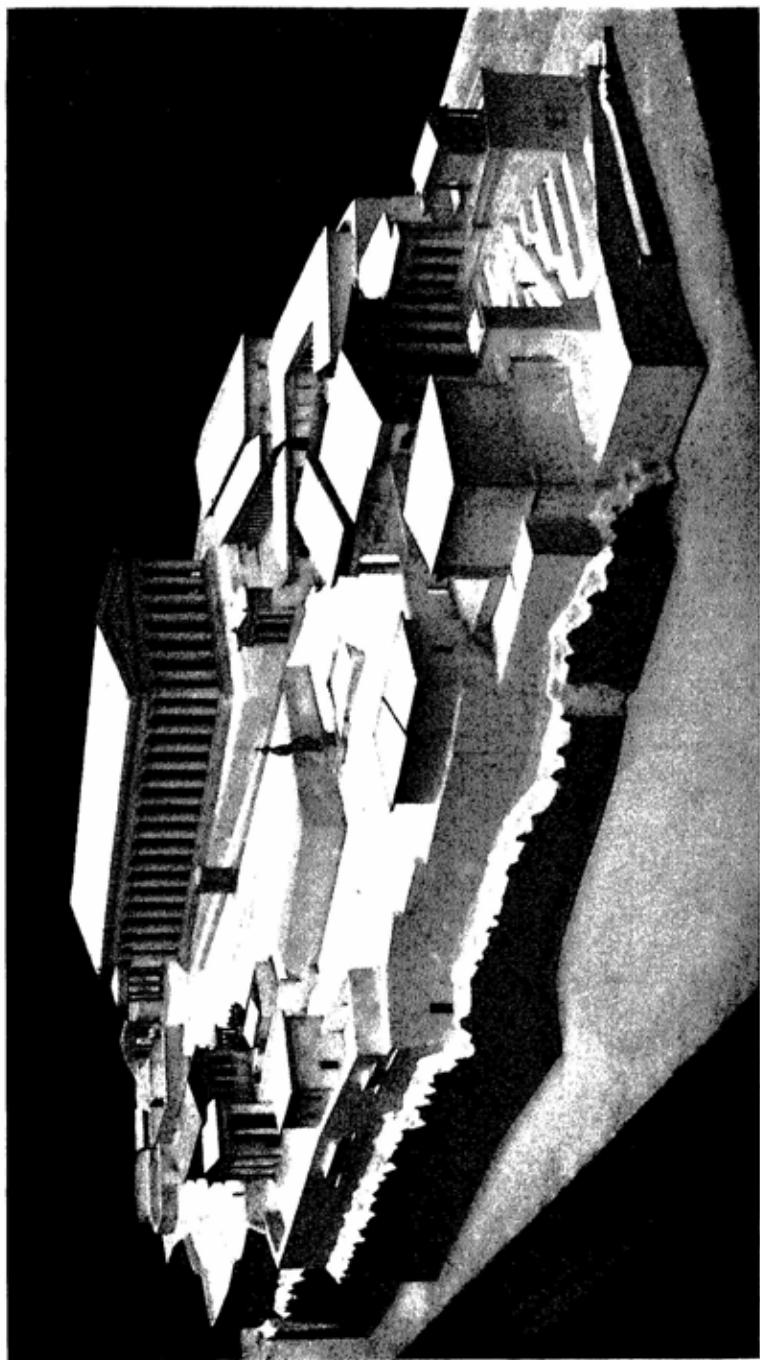
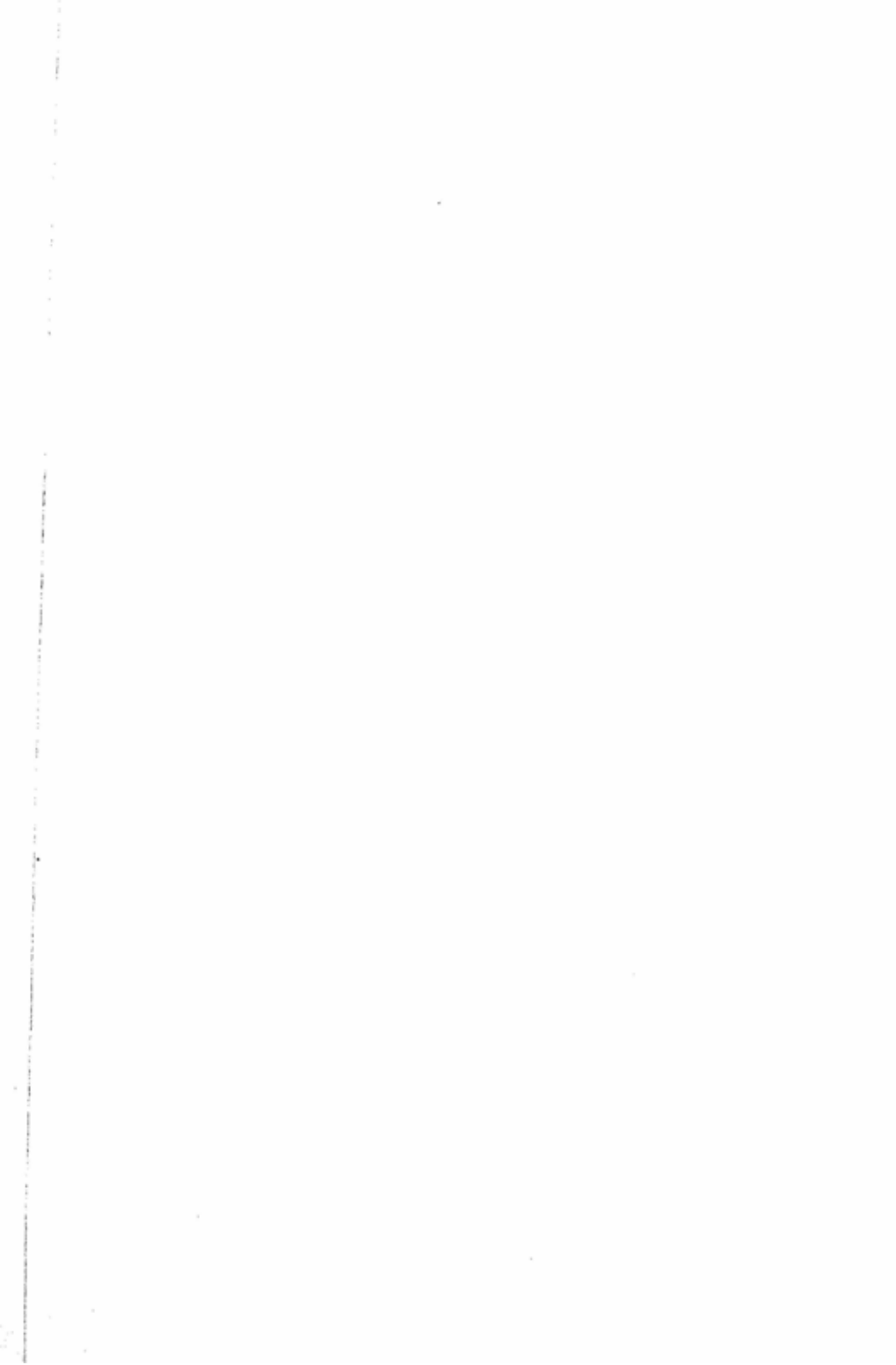


PLATE II. Model of the Acropolis—late 1st century A.D.



CHAPTER XIV

The Acropolis—Pre-Periklean Period

THERE is a long gap in the history of the Acropolis between the time when it was a Mycenaean fortress and the days of its greatest glory in the fifth century when it was transformed from a fortress to the shrine of Athene and the Other Gods. It continued to be a stronghold for centuries, even occupied on occasion by tyrants who entrenched themselves on it, and it lasted as such until the sack by the Persians. Few identifiable remains can be dated before about the late seventh or early sixth century. The pottery of the Geometric period is even less in quantity than that of the Mycenaean. There are no traces of Geometric houses, yet such a good strong site must have been utilised and probably at least one temple—possibly of the early apsidal type known from such places as Thermon, Perachora and Sparta—would have been built.

The prevalence of old pre-Hellenic cults on the Acropolis throughout historical times suggests the presence of small shrines, if nothing else, to preserve their continuity, but nothing is left of them except remains of poros sculpture and architectural fragments which must once have had a place on some building or other.¹ The triple-headed Tryphon (Blue-beard) with snaky body, Herakles fighting the Triton, the two great lions heraldically arranged with one facing to right and one to left and the rearing serpents were obviously designed for pedimental sculptures. The same is true of the groups with Herakles slaying the Hydra and the Introduction of Herakles to Olympos, which are on a considerably smaller scale. There also were hundreds of fragments of painted poros, triglyphs, metopes, cornices, etc., that once belonged to the entablatures of buildings. The game of assigning them to various hypothetical temples has been and still is a fascinating one.

Although for some centuries after the end of the Bronze Age there is no contemporary history or written records and little in the way of material remains except potsherds, a few terracotta figurines and an occasional bronze object, by about the sixth century we begin to see daylight and to learn more of the history, which though not by contemporary writers is found in authors of not much later date who may have learnt something from their elders who were eye-witnesses, and we can associate certain happenings with men like Solon or Kylon whose names are familiar to us.

Our concern, however, is rather with the material remains. The history of the Acropolis was hardly such as to encourage the preservation

of ancient monuments. When we recall the sack by the Persians, the great reconstruction which required much material for filling in, the changes made after the adoption of Christianity and the conversion of the Parthenon and Erechtheion into churches with apses at the east end, the successive occupations by Franks, Catalans, Accajuoli and others who used the Propylaea as a palace, fortified it with outworks and a tall tower which was not removed until 1875, the capture by the Turks and consequent transformation of the Parthenon into a mosque and Erechtheion into a Turkish house, their use as powder magazines, the well-aimed cannon ball that blew the centre out of the Parthenon, the appearance of the whole surface covered with Turkish houses tightly packed together, the siege and capture by the Greeks in the War of Independence, it is little wonder that the comparatively

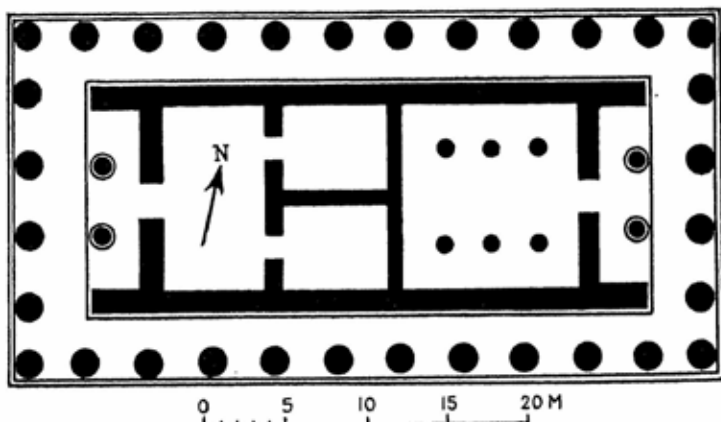


Fig. 23. Old Temple of Athena

fragile structures of the Geometric period (which would have had foundation walls of small stones and a superstructure of mud-brick) have left no traces.

After the independence of Greece many scholars, both Greek and foreign, began the study and reconstruction of some of the buildings. The fortifications west of the Propylaea contained many fragments of the Temple of Niké which were again set in place by Ross in 1835-6, the Acropolis Museum meant to house the moveable finds was built in 1865 and beginning in 1885 the excavation of the whole surface to bed rock was carried out by the Greeks.

The largest pre-Persian building uncovered was that which lies between the Parthenon and Erechtheion and is known as the Old Temple of Athene.² Its discovery was a complete surprise, for no mention is made of it by Pausanias, in whose day it was already covered up, and ever since discovery it has been the subject of endless

controversy as to its identity, its date, its relation to its neighbours, and how long it continued in use.

It is a Doric peripteral temple with a colonnade of 6×12 columns and measures 43.44 m. \times 21.43 m. The inner rectangle consisting of a pronaos with two columns *in antis*, an almost square cella with three interior columns on each side, two small rooms side by side with doors to the west, a rear room and an opisthodomos, had foundations of pieces of blue Acropolis limestone, the outer rectangle supporting the columns was of large carefully fitted blocks of pink Kará limestone.

Dr. Dörpfeld who first published the temple suggested that the difference in material and solidity of the inner and outer rectangles might be because more substantial foundations were needed for heavy columns than for inner walls, or because the inner rectangle was earlier. The colonnade can be dated in the time of Peisistratos and was generally regarded as his addition to an earlier temple of a more simple nature. Professor Dinsmoor in the most recent publication on the subject,³ prefers to believe that the whole building is of Peisistratean date and was built to replace a "hypothetical but necessary" Geometric temple on the same site.

The acceptance of the whole temple as Peisistratean automatically rules out all the early poros sculptures which have been assigned to it, as they antedate it by many years and must consequently have belonged elsewhere. The temple was destroyed by the Persians and whether it was ever rebuilt, in whole or in part, is still one of the favourite controversies of archaeologists.

The foundations were obviously so much older than the Erechtheion and the Parthenon that they were at once identified as the Old or Ancient Temple of Athene (*archaios naos*) and this identification was accepted by most scholars, some of whom also applied the name to its successor the Erechtheion, especially in view of the fact that the Erechtheion was said to contain the "ancient statue of Athene," which presumably had been in the Old Temple of Athene until its destruction.⁴

Two other names often applied by archaeologists to the Old Temple were "Hekatompedon" and "Opisthodomos". These are words of very general meaning—100 feet could apply to anything of that length; opisthodomos is regularly any rear room and especially the back portico of a temple, but the terms "Hekatompedon" and "Opisthodomos" (usually written with capitals) also referred to specific rooms or buildings so familiar to their contemporaries that they needed no further description, but for later generations they became an exasperating problem practically insoluble to the satisfaction of everyone.

The name Hekatompedon was used by modern scholars first for the inner rectangle of the Old Temple of Athene which measures *ca.*

100 Attic feet, and then came inaccurately to be applied to the whole building.⁵

The word occurs with a very definite meaning in what is generally known as the Hekatompedon inscription, cut on two slabs of marble that once were metopes of a building destroyed by the Persians. Some 41 fragments have been pieced together to compose two slabs, but the inscription is still very incomplete and the differences in restoration are considerable, though its date 485/4 B.C. is assured.⁶ It consists of regulations for conduct on the Acropolis and refers to "the temple" and "the Hekatompedon" as mutually exclusive topographical points. As the "naos" can be only the Old Temple of Athene, the Hekatompedon must be something else. "Hekatompedos Naos" was the name officially used for the east cella of the Parthenon and often for the whole building. As none of the dimensions of the Parthenon is 100 feet, the name apparently was inherited from a predecessor, presumably the Older Parthenon which was in process of construction in 485 B.C. and probably is the Hekatompedon of the inscription. But there is no evidence for a measurement of 100 feet in it either, and again the name seems to be a heritage. Many scholars believe there was a still earlier Parthenon (the "Ur-Parthenon" or what Professor Dinsmoor christens the "grandfather" of the Parthenon) and this may have been the original Hekatompedon.⁷ Certainly no other site for the ancestral temple would have been available in pre-Persian times, since the Old Temple of Athene occupied the site of the Mycenaean palace and there was no suitable space to north or northwest of the Old Temple.

As to the Opisthodomos, there also is wide diversity in identification. This thorny problem cannot be discussed in detail here, but some of the places suggested are the west room or the opisthodomos of the Parthenon or the western half of the Old Temple of Athene. This "elusive term" occurs first in the Kallias decree of probably 439/8 or 434/3 B.C. with reference to the storage of the moneys of Athene and of the Other Gods, one to the right and one to the left, which would apply to the pairs of rooms in the Old Temple or two sides of the broad west room in the Parthenon or perhaps less well to open porticoes protected only by grilles. But the Old Temple had been destroyed many years before the decree was written and if the Opisthodomos was the rear part of it, the rear part must have been rebuilt to be utilised for the storage of moneys and other valuables. The last mention of the Opisthodomos is in 353/2 B.C. (Dem. XXIV. 136), the year in which it apparently was dismantled.⁸

Let us return to more secure ground and see what actual remains besides the foundations can be definitely assigned to the Old Temple of Athene.

The temple had columns and entablature of poros and large marble

pedimental figures belonging to a group representing the contest of Athene and the giants on the east pediment. These sculptures, though consisting largely of fragments pieced together with considerable restoration, are among the best examples of the Late Archaic period, generally dated after 525 B.C. An akroterion representing Niké, a lion's-head spout from one sima and a ram's head from another probably also belong here.⁹ This, then, is the only complete large building on the Acropolis known to be of pre-Persian date of which the foundations are preserved.

But the great quantity of architectural members of poros or marble such as column drums, finished or unfinished, triglyphs, metopes, simas, horizontal or raking, as well as innumerable fragments of pedimental sculptures found in the circuit walls (particularly the northern) or buried in various parts of the Acropolis, indicate that there must once have been several buildings to which they belonged. The complete disappearance of the foundations may be accounted for in two ways: either they were buried beneath later structures or stood on parts of the native rock which were later trimmed down into terraces in the general levelling of the Acropolis surface.

At least one large building is necessary to accommodate the largest of the poros pedimental sculptures and the only site for such a building is, as we have seen, where the Parthenon now stands. Whether its foundations were destroyed wholly or in part when those of the Older Parthenon were laid or whether they were incorporated as building material into the less visible parts of the great poros foundations is impossible to prove without destruction out of all proportion to the resultant information.

There is, however, ample evidence for a reconstruction of the earliest temple.¹⁰ Many fragments of poros pediments and other architectural members furnish the dimensions which, in fact, agree well with its presumable name of Hekatompedon, "the hundred-footer". The plan (admittedly hypothetical) provides for a building 16.24 m. in width by 32.71 m. in length (practically 50 × 100 Doric feet), with a façade consisting of four architrave blocks, eight metopes and nine triglyphs resting on three Doric columns between antae. The *tristyle in antis* arrangement is shown on a contemporary representation on the François vase.

The solid flank walls of the cella would have supported a frieze of eighteen metopes and nineteen triglyphs, and the relatively broad width of the cella compared to its length required a line of central columns on the axis. An important piece of material evidence for the reconstruction of the plan is a large corner architrave block from one of the fronts, now built into the south wall of the Acropolis, which makes it possible to estimate the number of architrave blocks required.

The poros lion group, flanked by Bluebeard and by Herakles

fighting the Triton may probably be assigned to the east pediment and the lioness and great serpents to the west one. The fact that all these fragments were found in the terrace filling south of the Parthenon, that they are uniform in scale and in relief, in material, style and use of polychromy, and also in the technique of their jointing (with a central joint and splayed joints on either side of the centre on the floor of the tympana) indicates that they came from the same building. The superior technique of the east pediment is doubtless because the better sculptures were assigned to the principal façade.

There is abundant evidence at hand for the metopes, of which there would have been fifty-two in all. Both poros and marble were used. At least twelve fragments of the poros metopes survive, some still attached to their triglyphs. The marble metopes were thin slabs many of which are preserved either entire or in part. There are the two fragmentary slabs known as the Hekatompedon inscription already mentioned. Many others were found re-used, with their margins trimmed off, as revetments of the forecourt of the Old Propylaea. Three are still practically complete and *in situ*, the bottoms of two others are in place, and after a gap from which five more were removed to make way for the corner of the great Propylaea, there are beddings for three more, making thirteen in all. Fragments found elsewhere bring the total up to a minimum of twenty-four metopes, perhaps more.

The only possible distribution of poros and marble metopes provides for the use of marble on both flanks and one façade, with poros on the other façade. The natural place for the poros metopes is presumably on the west or rear, but that would have been the first part seen by a visitor to the Acropolis, and the ingenious reconstruction with the poros metopes on the east serving as a painted background for the well-known marble spotted lions and leopards found on the Acropolis and generally believed to have been meant to be fastened to a background seems highly probable.

For some reason, it was decided to replace this temple with a larger one built of marble from the newly-opened Pentelic quarries, whose massive poros foundations are still to be seen.¹¹ Opinions differ whether this ambitious undertaking was begun in the last decade of the sixth century to commemorate the end of the tyrants and the establishment of a democracy or was begun soon after 490 B.C. to celebrate the victory at Marathon in that year. It had progressed only as far as the foundations and preliminary preparation of the marble columns intended to rest on them when the Persian sack of the Acropolis not only put a stop to the work but caused considerable damage to what there was. Marks of fire are still visible on parts of the foundations and on a great many of the architectural members. The foundations rested on the bed rock everywhere and extended down for 22 courses (10.77 m.) at the southeast corner. The slope of the rock

required fewer courses at the southwest and northwest corners, and on the east front the foundations rest on the natural rock for several meters before the northeast corner is reached. On the south and west sides the four upper courses have been carefully dressed and fitted and are furnished with drafted margins, showing that they were intended to remain visible, while the courses below them, with open joints and faces not all in the same plane, were obviously intended to be covered. The carefully drafted margins on all the blocks of the southeast corner doubtless served as a useful guide for exact setting. Since this foundation is considerably larger (76.816 m. \times 31.39 m.) than the marble Older Parthenon which was to stand upon it, some think it was originally designed to support a large poros temple, others believe the marble

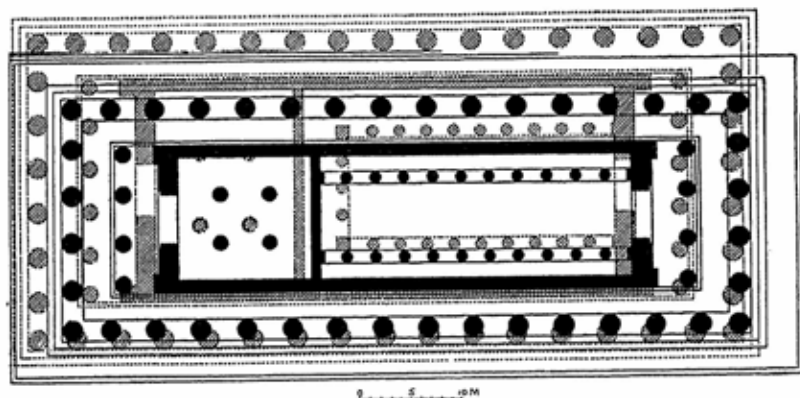


Fig. 24. Plan of the Older and Later Parthenon

temple was always intended to rest upon a platform not unlike the podium of the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion.

From the evidence of the remains *in situ* and of the many fragments built into the north wall of the Acropolis or the later Parthenon or lying about on the Acropolis, we know that the building had three steps: the lowest of Kará stone, the middle step and the stylobate of Pentelic marble. The stylobate measured 72.27 m. \times 26.87 m., leaving a border on the poros platform of about three metres and a half on the ends and two and a half metres on the sides. The marble column drums are unfinished, and as no pieces of marble capitals or entablature have been found, it is safe to conclude that the building had never progressed farther than the lowest drums of the columns when it was destroyed.

The temple had a Doric peristyle of 6 \times 16 columns, round a long cella with two rows of interior columns and one squarish room to the west entered from the opisthodomos. Since drums from five columns

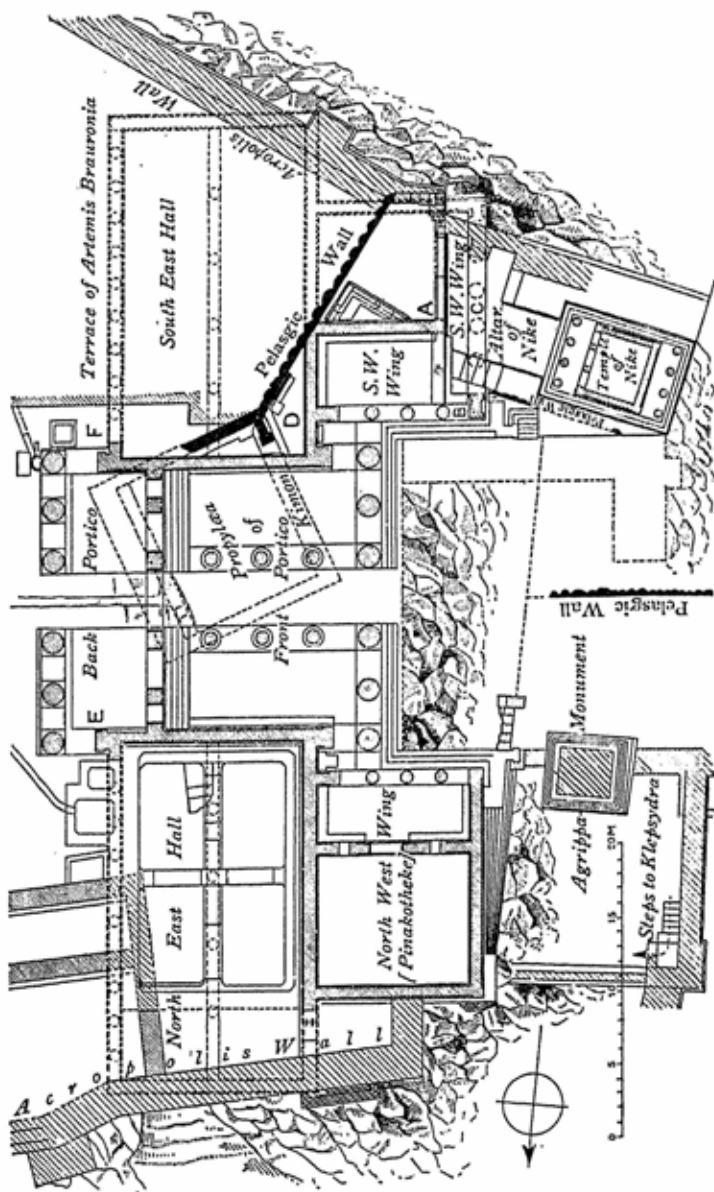


Fig. 25. The Propylaea

smaller than those of the peristyle have been found, it must be restored as amphiprostyle with four columns at each end.

The base of one of the antae of the pronaos is visible below the level of the present Parthenon at the southwest corner of its cella, and several blocks of the lowest course of the cella (which like the anta have a moulded base) are built into the inside of the west wall of the Periklean Parthenon between the orthostates. The drum of a still smaller column discovered east of the Acropolis Museum presumably belonged to the interior colonnade of the cella. Although the temple never rose very far above the foundations, many more of its blocks and drums have been built into the foundations of the present Parthenon, and it is probable that the agreement in certain dimensions between the Older Parthenon and the Periklean Parthenon was in order to use as much as possible of the material that had survived in good condition.

Mentioned in the Hekatompedon inscription are certain buildings (*oikemata*) in which public moneys were kept under lock and key in the custody of the Treasurers of Athene.¹² They apparently stood in close relation to the Hekatompedon, but the fragmentary condition of the inscription makes it impossible to say exactly where. Since the Old Temple of Athene occupied the area to the north and the rock fell away steeply at the south of the Older Parthenon, the obvious position for them would be to the west of the Parthenon where the later levelling for the terrace of the Chalkotheke would have removed all traces of their foundations. Presumably they were treasuries similar to those of Olympia and Delphi and were included amongst the several smaller buildings (now vanished) to which belonged the damaged poros pediments, such as Herakles and the Hydra and the introduction of Herakles to Olympia, found near by in the filling south of the Parthenon.

It is unlikely that the *oikemata* escaped unscathed in the Persian invasion, but they continued to be used until the funds in them were, as we learn from the Kallias decrees of the third quarter of the fifth century, transferred to the Opisthodomos (wherever that was). Some of the architectural members of the *oikemata* were re-used in the lower courses of the Great Propylaea.

Also antedating the Persian destruction were the Old Propylaea built to replace the Mycenaean gate in the prehistoric circuit wall. Enough of it is left for us to know that it, unlike the Great Propylaea, had an orientation from northeast to southwest, that it measured *ca.* 17.50 m. in width by *ca.* 14 m. in depth and probably was tetrastyle *in antis*.¹³

The actual remains in the angle between the south wall of the Great Propylaea and the east wall of its southwest wing are two marble steps and a stylobate 1.175 m. broad on which rested a marble anta composed of two upright blocks and measuring 3.513 m. in height,

terminating a poros cross-wall five courses high and *ca.* 1.10 m. long connected with the southeast side wall of the Propylon. One floor slab remains just inside the threshold. The side-wall, of which 4.65 m. is left, had a dado of marble slabs 1.76 m. high in front of which ran a marble bench *ca.* 0.40 m. wide. Three of the slabs are still in position with a small piece of a marble belt-course 0.086 m. high on which would have rested an upper wall of mud brick and stucco. The top has a socket behind the face of the wall and obviously was intended to hold a vertical timber *ca.* 0.20 m. square. The wall receded slightly and left room for planks some 0.06 m. thick to be nailed across the vertical timbers. This method of construction with brick and stucco and timber above a marble dado is unique on the Acropolis, but the evidence shows clearly that the upper surface was not prepared for the reception of blocks of stone, and the suggestion has been made that the wooden walls of the Old Propylaea may have been mistakenly interpreted by a few defenders as those meant by the oracle.¹⁴

These rather meagre remains give us the southwest corner of the Old Propylaea. Rock-cuttings for the northeast part of the building have been found in the passageway in the centre of the Great Propylaea and also under the floor of the northern part of the west portico. They are enough to furnish the dimensions of the Old Propylaea, but there is little further evidence for details of the ground plan which probably like its successor the Great Propylaea had a wall with five openings through it and front and rear porticoes. The rise of the rock would doubtless have caused the eastern portico to be on a higher level than the western.

Remains are more plentiful in what must have been a large irregularly shaped forecourt to the Old Propylaea, sometimes called an "exedra". Outside the entrance and meeting the cross-wall at an angle of 122° the slabs and bench continued up against the Pelasgian wall until they were interrupted by the southeast corner of the southwest wing of the Great Propylaea which was bevelled off to fit against the Pelasgian wall, then they extended more than 10 m. farther and returned at a right angle. The southwest edge of the exedra probably was adjacent to or even coincided with the boundary of the precinct of the Charites. In the forecourt the thin marble slabs of the dado had formerly been metopes, probably from the Hekatompedon, with the borders trimmed off to leave the required height of 1.76 m. Three of the slabs are still in position in the angle east of the corner of the Great Propylaea for which five other slabs were removed. The marble bench rested on at least three rock-cut steps and in the obtuse angle was the base for a tripod with a spread of 0.42 m.—0.43 m. between the legs. This old entrance, as we know from traces of fire both in the Old Propylaea and the forecourt, suffered sadly at the hands of the Persians but was repaired and continued in use until the ground was cleared for the

Great Propylaea of Mnesikles and only the few remains now visible escaped being built upon by the splendid new structure. Even these would not have survived if the original plan for a southeast wing of the Great Propylaea had been carried out.

Outside the Acropolis wall the worship of Athene Niké had been established long before the coming of the Persians.¹⁵ The polygonal retaining wall for the earliest temenos was built on the Mycenaean bastion though it did not entirely coincide with its edge.

Below the marble pavement laid later in front of the fifth century temple were found a small base (Altar I) of poros resting on one step and a foundation plinth and a poros altar (Altar II) 1.24 m. × 0.782 m. × 0.55 m. in height standing on a slightly wider base slab both following the old orientation. Altar II has mouldings at top and bottom, Altar I once terminated in volutes, now destroyed.

The front of Altar I bore the inscription

Τῆς Ἀθ[ηναίας]	τῆς Νίκης	Βομός.
Πατροκ(λ)ῆς	ἑποίησεν.	

in letters of the middle of the sixth century.

The latest publication of the inscription accepts the suggestion made by its discoverer that the early cult of Athene Niké was connected with the foundation of the Panathenaic Games in 566 B.C. The traditional representation of Athene on one side of the Panathenaic amphorai handed down in its earliest form on the Black-Figured vases, obviously depicted a cult-statue. The statue with its base occurs in Black-Figured and Red-Figured vase paintings in connection with a low altar with volute ornament, showing that the statue probably stood in the open, and while it is impossible to prove that the statue of Athene stood on the Niké pyrgos, the altar in the paintings closely resembles the one found there.¹⁶

Under the cella of the marble temple and at a level and orientation corresponding to the altar at the east are the remains of a very small shrine or *abaton* beautifully built of fine poros. Part of the north wall with its orthostates is standing and some of the west and south walls also is left. Its dimensions may be estimated as *ca.* 3.50 m. square. Within the northwest angle, orientated slightly differently, is what may be described as a strong-box, also of poros, inside which were found some terracotta figurines. These antedate the poros building, which probably was built, or perhaps rebuilt, shortly after the Persian Wars, and are further evidence that the worship of Athene Niké had been established here at a very early date. The famous old *xoanon* of Athene Niké represented the goddess as wingless with a pomegranate in her right hand and a helmet in her left.

Other early cults established on the bastion were those of Hekate and of the Charites, survivors of the primitive worships which we have

already noted a little farther down the western slope of the entrance to the Acropolis.

We must picture the Acropolis in 480 B.C. before the destruction by the Persians as still surrounded by the old Pelasgic wall through which the Old Propylaea, probably built between 490 and 480 B.C., served as the sole entrance, with the Old Temple of Athene in a dominating position, with the foundations of the Older Parthenon well under way and the *oikemata* presumably west of it, and with other landmarks such as the Kekropeion mentioned in the Hekatompedon inscription, and the Great Altar of Athene to the east of her temple.

Some of the earliest cults going back to a remote time have already been noted when discussing the Late Helladic Acropolis. Most of them were to the north of the massive platform for the Old Temple of Athene in or near the later Erechtheion. The Kekropeion and the Pandroseion with its olive tree were west of the area; the Salt Sea, the Trident marks of Poseidon or the Thunderbolt of Zeus were later included in the Erechtheion. Possibly, as some believe, even the tomb of Erechtheus was here.

Another early precinct on the Acropolis was that of Zeus Polieus where the very ancient ritual of the *Bouphonia* (Slaying of the Ox) at the festival of the *Diipolia* took place. The temenos of Zeus Polieus has been identified on the highest point of the Acropolis northeast of the Parthenon where the earliest remains antedate the levelling of the rock terrace east of the Parthenon in the fifth century. The slight remains of walls indicate an enclosure measuring *ca.* 17 m. from north to south and *ca.* 26 m. from east to west, to the east of which are rock-cuttings for a building and more than 50 small rectangular cuttings suitable for holding wooden posts. The central cuttings were probably for a barn to house the sacred oxen, while the outer cuttings were for posts for a wattle fence round the enclosure. At least three periods of building suggest that the sacred rites described by Pausanias among others continued for a long time.

Still another heroön on the Acropolis was that of Pandion the eponymous hero of the Pandia (festival of all-Zeus). Some remains of ancient walls in the extreme southeast angle of the Pelasgian circuit only 25 m. southeast of the precinct of Zeus Polieus, that were formerly thought to be those of a workshop but clearly belong to something of great importance, have been provisionally identified as the enclosure of the temenos of Pandion.¹⁷

Besides these there must have been many small unidentified shrines, monuments and statues, a veritable forest of the latter, if we can judge from the many archaic works that have survived.

Then, despite all gallant and persistent efforts for defence, the Persians came up by the supposedly inaccessible stairway of the Agraulion on the north side, and took the defenders in the rear, bent

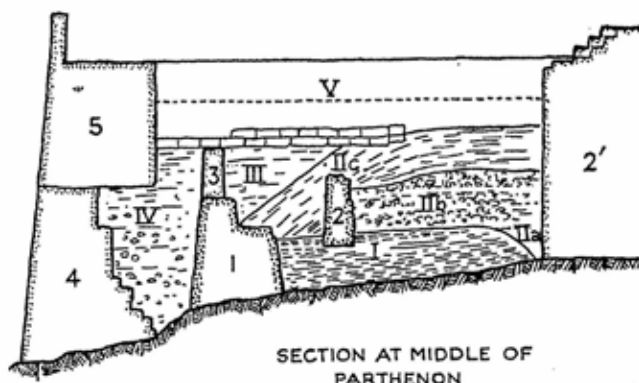
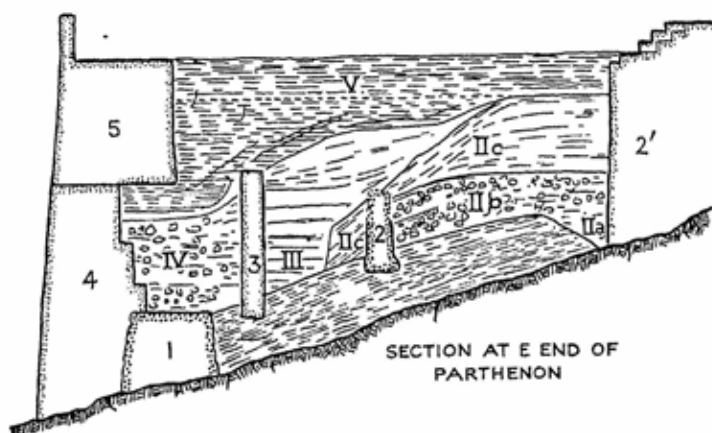


Fig. 26. Sections of Terraces

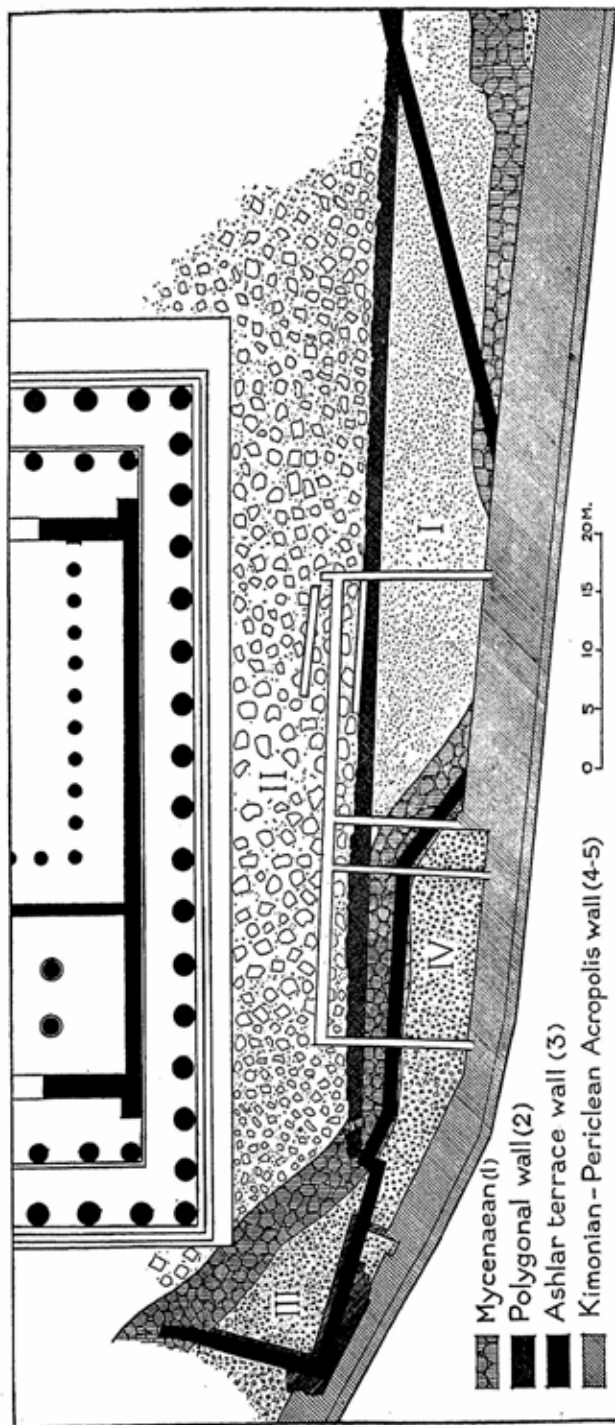


Fig. 27. General Plan of Terraces

on destroying everything in sight, slaughtering the inhabitants, setting fire to the buildings and smashing all they could. After the battles of Salamis and Plataea which followed immediately, the Athenians could look round them and take stock of what was left amidst the ruins. Before the battle of Plataea an oath had been taken not to rebuild any of the sanctuaries but to leave them as reminders of the impiety of the barbarians, and we know that many fragments were built into the north wall of the Acropolis which serve as reminders to this day.

Inside the circuit wall, which was several courses higher than the old Pelasgian one, the ground level had to be raised to the requisite height, and the most important remains of this filling were found from 3 m. to 4.50 m. below the surface a little northwest of the northwest corner of the later Erechtheion. The deposit which consisted of three strata of archaeological finds separated by layers of rubble and poros building chips from the wall included many archaic statues, of which the best known are the *korai*, along with architectural fragments, bronzes, terracotta figurines and fragments of pottery. Although the votive statues are now one of the chief glories of the Acropolis Museum, they were used here for a purely utilitarian purpose.¹⁸

Another important need was to strengthen the defence walls on the south side as well as the north, but this was an expensive undertaking not entirely completed until the rich spoils from the battle of the Eurymedon were used by Kimon for the purpose some ten years or so later.

Meanwhile something had to be done with the rubbish, and we must now turn to the great accumulations to the south of the Parthenon formerly called the "Perserschutt", but known now to contain much material of greater antiquity and to include the Persian débris merely as part of its contents.¹⁹

Five strata of débris have been identified (some with sub-divisions, making eight layers in all), each with a retaining wall, usually designated in order from I to V. I, IV and V as well as part of III which was built on top of I, are parts of the circuit wall of the Acropolis; II was a terrace wall constructed within the circuit, while parts of III were outside and others inside the circumference.

Stratum I included the accumulation of centuries from the earliest prehistoric periods down to the time when it was decided to begin the foundations for the Older Parthenon and a V-shaped trench was dug in its northern part into which the lowest course was set. In accordance with the regular Greek building methods scaffoldings were not used, but as the wall rose the workmen stood upon the accumulation of earth, stone chips, builders' débris, etc. To hold this accumulation polygonal wall II was built, a little more than midway to the Mycenaean wall I and a large mass of débris piled up behind it and

eventually overflowed as far as wall I, since a slender wall like II could not be run up any higher.

That the original intention had been to use II as the wall of a terrace to be left visible within the circuit, is evident from the staircase still leading down from it to the level of wall I, but the mass of material that accumulated made it necessary to build part of III on top of I, to extend the area by a triangle enclosed by III farther west and to run III inside wall I farther east to meet wall II.

Wall III was one of the earlier enterprises of the Kimonian period, but the riches from the battle of the Eurymedon *ca.* 469 B.C. or soon afterwards, made it possible to carry out a more extensive plan.

Stratum IV lies between walls III and IV, the latter the great Kimonian south wall of the Acropolis. The fill in Strata III and IV may rightly be called the "Perserschutt" and was composed largely of the fragments of buildings, statues, etc., destroyed by the barbarians and showing for the most part evidence of damage by fire.

Later, during the Periklean improvements, the Kimonian wall was made considerably higher and stratum V brought the ground up to the level of the terrace of the Parthenon.

In addition to these substantial supporting walls there are slighter walls belonging to a large building (drawn in outline) which has been recognised as the Ergasterion or workshop used for the preliminary work in connection with the Periklean Parthenon. The perishable wooden parts, like the roof, could be prepared here section by section under cover in any weather and set in place during the dry season, and other details also could be got ready. None of this building is now visible, as the ground south of the Parthenon was filled in again after the Greek excavation.

The study of the stratification has been of great value in determining the date of the Older Parthenon, since the deposits in stratum II which are contemporary with the foundations show very little trace of fire and consist chiefly of building débris, while strata III and IV are obviously composed of débris of the Persian invasion, chiefly the burnt remains of buildings destroyed by them.

This evidence rules out a post-Persian date for the Older Parthenon and also the possibility that it may have been undertaken late in the sixth century after the expulsion of the tyrants, for the débris in II belongs almost exclusively to the years 490-480 B.C. The saying of Demosthenes (XXII. 13) that the Parthenon and the Propylaea were built from the spoils of Marathon though doubtless meant by him in a somewhat metaphorical sense, may be applied literally to the Older Parthenon and the Old Propylaea, which belong to the same decade. It has been pointed out that they inaugurated the era of building in Pentelic marble and were part of the first grandiose scheme for the embellishment of the Acropolis, probably to be credited to Aristideus.

That both the Older Parthenon and Old Propylaea commemorating the great victory over the Persians should have been ruined by them less than a decade later at the time of the second invasion, is one of the ironies of fate. But after a temporary paralysis in building caused (partly at least) by the observance of the oath taken at Plataea, by the time Perikles became the leading citizen of Athens another generation had grown up ready to replace the lost buildings with something infinitely finer.

CHAPTER XV

The Acropolis—The Parthenon, the Propylaea

THE chief glories of the Acropolis are closely associated with Perikles, and rightly so. He came into power in 461 B.C. and a few years later, in 454, the funds of the Confederacy formed after the Persian Wars to establish security on the seas were transferred from Delos to Athens.

Conditions seemed favourable for carrying out plans of reconstruction on a large scale and rebuilding in a manner more worthy of great states, and Perikles accordingly called a Pan-Hellenic congress, probably in 449 B.C., to discuss the matter, but when this proved a failure the Athenians decided to use the funds of the Confederacy to rebuild the temples of the chief member and protector of the League. Many protests were made by those who objected to having the contributions spent on Athens, but Perikles pointed out that for years the other states had paid their contributions so that the Athenians should undertake their defence, and since that part of the agreement had been fulfilled the way the surplus was spent did not concern them. Moreover, the public works would furnish employment for the civilian population and the money spent would benefit all classes in the state.¹ The first great undertaking was the Parthenon, built on the foundations prepared some forty years earlier for the Older Parthenon.

The Parthenon has been so fully discussed in all the books about Greek architecture and Athenian topography that only a brief description is needed in order that some of the more recent discoveries and theories may be related to their proper background. A glance at the superimposed plans of the Older Parthenon and the Parthenon will show how parts of the earlier structure were utilised for the later one. The foundations of the Older Parthenon are *ca.* 4 m. longer and 4 m. narrower than those of the Parthenon which have been built on the old whenever possible. The north peristyle of the Parthenon had new foundations, its south, east, and west peristyles were inside those of the Older Parthenon. One striking difference is that the cella of the Parthenon is much wider, and the colonnades narrower.

Except for the wooden roof and ceiling the Parthenon was built entirely of Pentelic marble. Three steps lead up to the stylobate which measures 69.51 m. \times 30.86 m. The naos consists of a cella (*Hekatompedos naos*) with a shallow pronaos of six Doric columns and short side walls, and a room (the Parthenon proper, though the name was applied later to the whole temple) with opisthodomos similar

to the pronaos. The two parts of the building are separate, the doors through the west wall of the cella belong to the time when the Parthenon was converted into a church.

The cella, entered over a slightly raised threshold through a door 4.92 m. \times 10 m. which lighted the room, is 0.70 m. higher than the peristyle and was divided into a nave, two aisles and a passage at the west end by a two-storeyed Doric colonnade with twenty-one columns and two piers in each level. There was no gallery, but the upper row supported the wooden roof and ceiling. The western part of the area surrounded by the interior colonnade included the pedestal of the great cult-statue of Athene Parthenos and in front of it are marks on the floor for setting a low raised edge to hold a shallow pool of water to provide moisture for the statue. At Olympia oil was used for the purpose instead of water.

The Parthenon proper was divided longitudinally into about equal thirds by two pairs of Ionic columns and opened into the opisthodomos through a huge door whose ancient valves or their Christian successors have left traces on the floor. Both the opisthodomos and the pronaos were enclosed by wooden grilles between the columns.

Round the whole building at the top of the outside of the cella wall ran the famous frieze representing the Panathenaic procession. Although a continuous Ionic frieze with painted mouldings above and below it is set above the guttae of a Doric architrave on the east and west ends.

The peristyle of 8 \times 17 Doric columns, which were 1.905 m. in diameter and 10.40 m. in height and had 20 flutes, enclosed an ambulatory 4.84 m. wide on the short sides and 4.26 m. on the long sides with a coffered ceiling of marble, as were those of the pronaos and opisthodomos. The columns supported an architrave and a frieze that originally had 92 metopes, of which 15 are in the British Museum, 1 in the Louvre and 41 *in situ*. The ceiling of the naos was of wood, the saddle roof of heavy timbers with tiles of Pentelic marble and the marble akroteria were of floral type. The pediments represent the birth of Athene in the east and the contest of Athene versus Poseidon in the west. The sculptured decorations of the temple will be briefly described below.

The so-called "refinements" of Greek architecture, *i.e.* the slight inclination of the vertical members, the curvature of the horizontal surfaces and the *entasis* or slight swelling of the columns are illustrated in their most perfect expression in the Parthenon, and the same is true of the forms of the mouldings and variety of painted ornament of the entablature and the coffered ceiling.²

The fragmentary building accounts of some fifteen years which were inscribed on marble stelai and set up on the Acropolis begin with 447 B.C. when Kallikrates and Iktinos were appointed architects of the

Parthenon, and by 439/8 B.C. the building was virtually finished. The Athene Parthenos was dedicated at the Panathenaic Festival of 438 B.C. and in the following year the sculptured pediments were begun and, though for a few years the funds were diverted to the Propylaea, by 433 B.C. the work was completed and the accounts closed.³ The sculptured decorations as well as the Athene Parthenos were entrusted to Pheidias and while it is generally agreed that most of the hundreds of figures must have been made by others under his supervision, some at least were probably by the hand of the master himself.

The extant figures of the east pediment, either *in situ* or in the Acropolis Museum or the British Museum, are Helios (the Sun) and the four horses of his chariot (two *in situ*) from the south angle and Selene (the Moon) and her horses (two *in situ*) from the northern angle framing the scene of what took place between morning and evening. Next to Helios comes the reclining figure generally known as Theseus or Dionysos (now in the British Museum) which is balanced on the other side of the pediment by the reclining female figure grouped with two others who are generally but wrongly called the Three Fates. The two seated figures in this group have their counterparts in the two seated female figures (Demeter and Koré) next to Theseus. The marks on the floor of the tympanum show the position of all these. Probably belonging next the seated pair in the south angle is the moving figure generally known as Iris or Eilytheia, but about one third of the pediment is lacking and calls for at least nine or ten figures.

The central part of the east pediment was already lost at the time of Carrey's drawing in 1674, having been sacrificed when the apse of the Christian church was built at the eastern end of the Parthenon. Most scholars are now agreed that the marble puteal or well-head in Madrid—a neo-Attic copy of a fifth-century work representing the birth of Athene in which the central figure, Zeus, is enthroned and turns towards the right where Athene stands poised with the figure of Niké flying with a wreath between her and Zeus, and the large standing figure of Hephaistos with his axe is at the left—is a copy of the central group in the east pediment. Beside the central figures there are three others, obviously the Three Fates, but in the first publication of the circular well-head they were represented on the flat page as at the right of Athene, whereas if they are shown to the left of Hephaistos they fall into their appropriate places in the pedimental composition with one seated and two standing figures. Within the past few years the lower part of a fifth-century female figure of heroic scale which was found to the northwest of the Parthenon has been identified as the central figure (Lachesis) of the Three Fates.

More is known about the composition of the west pediment, since Carrey was able to draw the central group before Morosini's disastrous attempt to remove the horses which crashed to the ground, but there

are fewer pieces of sculpture that can be definitely recognised as belonging to it. From the north angle there is still extant the reclining figure of a local river god, Kephissos or Ilissos or perhaps Eridanos, and after a small space come the headless figures identified as Kekrops and one of his daughters still in their place on the building. A considerable part of the south angle is also *in situ* and probably represents the local nymph Kallirhoe next to whom was a crouching male figure that may be the Ilissos or Kephissos. Nearly all the other figures are either missing or fragmentary, but the lower part of a seated female figure long neglected in the court in front of the Acropolis Museum has now been identified as figure U shown in the drawings of Carrey and of Dalton in 1749, and six small statues found at Eleusis, obvious reproductions of sculptures from the west pediment on a scale of one-third size, have been recognised as copies of the group of Kekrops and his daughter, of the two angle figures, of the recently identified figure U, and of two others (U*, a seated female figure with a child, and A*, a half-draped male figure to which a wrong torso had been added) that do not appear in Carrey's or Dalton's drawings, but for which the marks on the floor indicate that there was adequate space. There are also fragments belonging to the torsos of Athene and Poseidon from the central group which is known from drawings to have shown the two contestants springing away from each other and flanked by chariots.

The metopes on the east side of the Parthenon represent the Gods and Giants; on the west the Athenians versus the Amazons; on the north the Trojan War. Those still on the building are very badly weathered except for a few on the south side where the subject was the contest of the Lapiths and Centaurs, but the best examples of these are in the British Museum. In all the extant metopes the work is in high relief, some figures actually in the round, and they vary greatly in style and composition, perhaps because they were done by workmen of different ability.

The frieze, which was in low relief and about 1 m. high, suffered greatly in the explosion of 1687 and Carrey's drawings do not show the whole Panathenaic procession that starts from the south-west corner, shepherded by marshals, divides to go north and east and meets over the great central door at the east. The Athenian Knights are on the west face and the west ends of the north and south sides. On the west they are preparing for the procession, and after the northwest corner is turned they are shown in action, and ahead of them are chariot groups, sacrificial animals, figures carrying baskets, olive branches, trays of cakes, and large hydriai and musicians with flutes or lyres. On the east front are maidens, magistrates and the twelve gods six on each side of the central group of five figures consisting of two girls who carry cushioned stools or bundles on their heads and are about to hand them over to a matronly figure, and

a priest receiving from the hands of a boy the folded peplos woven for the goddess by chosen Athenian maidens. Much has been said about the absence of the Panathenaic Ship which figures in the descriptions of the procession, but we know that the ship was moored outside the entrance (see p. 94) and the frieze probably represents only what took place on the Acropolis itself.⁴

The statue of Athene Parthenos was one of the most famous and admired works of antiquity and many references are made to it by ancient writers. From their descriptions and from the extant ancient copies we know that it was a standing figure of the goddess, according to Pliny 26 cubits in height, clad in a chiton reaching to her feet, holding a Niké in her right hand, with her long spear standing on the ground and resting against her left arm, while her left hand held the upper rim of the great shield that stood beside her with the serpent coiled within its hollow interior. She wore the aegis on her breast, her helmet was adorned with a sphinx between winged horses, the cheek-pieces were decorated with griffins, the shield had the battle of the Greeks and Amazons on the outside and Gods versus Giants (painted) on the inside; on the edges of her sandals was the struggle of Lapiths versus Centaurs and on the pedestal the birth of Pandora.

The statue was made of plates of gold and ivory over a core of wood, metal or plaster supported by an armature of wooden beams. The gold plates of the statue weighed 44 Talents (1151 kg.) and have been estimated as 0.0075 m. thick. They were part of the state funds and could be removed for practical use in time of need or for inspection, as in 433 B.C. when Pheidias was (wrongly) accused of having stolen some, and later at regular intervals for verification. At some time between 300 and 295 B.C. the tyrant Lachares removed it ("leaving Athene nude", as was said) and converted it, along with golden offerings stored in the Parthenon and certain other golden statues of Niké, into 132,000 gold staters to pay his mercenaries.

The numerous ancient copies include the Roman statue known as the Varvakeion Athena, the Lenormant Athena, parts of large marble statues, terracotta figurines of the whole figure or the head, the gold medallions from near Kertch, the Aspasios intaglio, the Strangford shield and many representations on coins and vases. Most of these have been known and studied for more than half a century and really belong to a history of sculpture, but recent investigations have added considerably to our knowledge of the details and history of the Athene Parthenos. Several versions of the whole or parts of the shield were already known before a number of marble panels representing the battle of Greeks versus Amazons in a manner reminiscent of the shield, were found in 1931 at the bottom of the harbour of Peiraeus. The discovery gave rise to a number of comprehensive studies which relate them to the other copies.⁵

The pedestal of the statue stood in the western part of the cella. The foundation, composed of 30 poros blocks used for reasons of economy in place of eight marble pavement slabs, covers an area of *ca.* 2.62 m. \times 6.50 m., at the exact centre of which is a large rectangular socket-hole for an upright timber which was the main support of the statue. Round the poros area traces of weathering and setting-lines indicate that the original dimensions of the bottom course of the pedestal were 4.096 m. \times 8.048 m. Six of these large blocks have been identified and placed in approximately correct positions. The dimensions of the pedestal were later reduced to 3.72 m. \times 7.66 m. by cutting back the projecting lower course of the pedestal and giving it a new facing of marble held by five dowels whose holes may be seen in the pavement.

Other changes were made at one time or another in the Parthenon. The marble tiles of the roof were replaced by a later type, repairs were made in some places to the floor of the east pediment, to the lintel of the west door, to the inner faces of the Doric capitals and the architraves of the pronaos and opisthodomos and to the anta of the north colonnade. The original interior colonnades were removed completely and not replaced until the building was converted into a church when smaller and inferior fluted Doric columns were re-used for the purpose. About two dozen fragments of the columns and their entablature have been identified. They are late Hellenistic or early Roman, about 1.60 m. in diameter. While there is clear evidence of burning on the west lintel and columns and architraves, it is less certain whether the reason for using new roof tiles and floor slabs was fire or decay of the timbers in the roof or the effects of an earthquake.⁶

Though some copies of the Athene Parthenos—among them the Varvakeion statue and some coins of late date—show a column beneath the outstretched hand holding the Niké, the consensus of opinion now-a-days is that the engineering and technical skill of the Greeks was certainly equal to solving the problem of adequate balance for the statue.

The Niké itself was *ca.* 1.77 m. high and may have served as a model for the golden Victories dedicated to Athene of which there were at least eight before 407/6 B.C. All but one were melted down in the crisis of that year but some were replaced or perhaps given new plates of gold in the fourth century, only to be seized by the impious Lachares in 300–295 B.C. Their standard weight was 2 Talents (120 lbs.). Like the Athene Parthenos they were made of plates of gold over a core of metal or wood, as solid casting in metal was not used by the ancients for large statues and the expression “all of gold” used to describe them can only have meant the same as it did when applied to the great cult statue. Patient piecing together of the fragmentary information furnished by the inscriptions has thrown much light on details of the costume and accessories of the statues.⁷

The first mention of them is in the Kallias decree and they are listed in the inventories of the fifth and fourth centuries and appear also in literary references as late as the third. The inventories of the three rooms: Pronaos, Hekatompedos and Parthenon, give lists of what has been described as the "loose furniture" belonging to the Goddess and do not mention the money and bullion known to have been kept in the custody of the Treasurers of Athene. The contents were principally votive offerings, vessels for use in the processions and miscellaneous souvenirs. Most of the valuables were melted down in the crisis of 406 B.C. with the exception of one Niké, the golden plates of the Athene Parthenos and the golden wreath of the Niké on her hand.

The decree of Kallias stipulates that the moneys in the care of the Treasurers of Athene are to be deposited in the Opisthodomos, those of Athene on the right hand, those of the Other Gods on the left. The inventories of the fourth century include many objects belonging to some of the other gods, of whom at least thirty-five are recorded. In spite of the obvious inference that since the other three divisions of the Parthenon are named as depositories of other treasure, the Opisthodomos should be the fourth depository of the Parthenon, it has been impossible for scholars to agree on just where the Opisthodomos really was situated (see pp. 137-138).⁸

It has become almost a platitude to say how much more fortunate we are than the ancient Greeks, since we have an uninterrupted view of the Parthenon rising supreme in its dominating position, with subtle play of light and shade through its columns, with the free view of sky and mountain through them, with no solid walls to interfere with the prospect and no other buildings and statues to impede the view, but the Greeks took much thought about the grouping of the largest Acropolis buildings as a unit at least as early as the time of the Kallias decree and Mnesikles. The best approaches to the Parthenon and Erechtheion were seriously studied and planned and the western part of the Acropolis became a great entrance court, with paths diverging to Parthenon and Erechtheion and a harmonious perspective with the Parthenon showing above the other buildings, especially those in the precinct of Brauronian Artemis.

The Processional Way from the Propylaea went, as shown by the transverse grooves for good footing, to a point *ca.* 35 m. northwest of the northwest corner of the Parthenon and then turned southward. Here the cuttings indicate that a small propylon led into the court or marshalling-place on the rock-cut terrace west of the Parthenon and *ca.* 3.80 m. below the level of the terrace of the Parthenon itself. The court is bounded on the east by a broad flight of nine steps cut in the native rock. Some think the steps were continued up to the level of the Parthenon terrace by double-step blocks of poros (15 of which lie near by), to form the principal approach for the procession while the

animals passed along a sunken road between the north wall of the terrace of the Parthenon and the south wall enclosing the precinct of the Old Temple, others believe that such an upper flight would have been too steep and that above the nine rock-cut steps there would have been a wider step and immediately behind it a heavy wall rising vertically to the Parthenon level and bedded on a wide cutting visible in three places in the rock behind the ninth step, which would bar out the possibility of taking the procession by this route. There would have been a most impressive view of the western façade of the Parthenon from the court and also an excellent opportunity to inspect the Panathenaic frieze from the western terrace of the Parthenon.

A striking feature of the terrace of the Parthenon is the lack of symmetry; no wall makes a right angle with any other and nowhere, except at the western front, is the terrace boundary parallel to the Parthenon itself, but at the west the greatest care was taken to afford a symmetrical setting for the temple, so that the edge of the terrace was at an equal distance from the building at the western end and its northwestern and southwestern corners. The terrace on the south widened slightly towards the east end while that on the north became narrower until it merged with the rock level near the east end of the Parthenon. The remarkable contour of the terrace east of the Parthenon is indicated by occasional remains of walls or cuttings, and the line of its southeast part is practically parallel to the prehistoric fortification. The line of the rock-cut steps at the west was continued almost to the Kimonian wall, but since room for circulation had to be left between the terrace and the wall, the line of the south wall of the terrace changes its direction slightly towards the northwest for the last few metres of its course in order to join the west wall of the terrace.⁹

One of the financial provisions of the Kallias decrees, now generally believed to date shortly after the completion of the Parthenon, was that the whole Acropolis, except as otherwise provided for, should be tidied up and reorganised at a cost of not more than 10 Talents a year under the joint supervision of the Treasurers of Athene and the architect of the Propylaea. Detailed but incomplete building specifications for the Propylaea and Erechtheion are found in other decrees.

Among the first things necessary was grading the levels round the Parthenon by a filling of earth to the south, dressing down the rock at the northeast and reorganising the area near the Peisistratean temple of Athene. Also included in the tidying up was the area between Parthenon and Propylaea, especially levelling the rock for the terraces where the Chalkotheke and the stoa of Brauronian Artemis stood later. This meant the demolition of the *oikemata* (whose funds were now transferred to the Opisthodomos) and the utilisation of a number of their architectural members in the foundations of the Propylaea.¹⁰

The Propylaea were laid out in conformity with the orientation of

the Parthenon and at right angles to it with a proposed breadth equal to the length of the Parthenon and all seems to have been part of one grandiose scheme. It is for this reason that the name of Mnesikles is generally associated with the co-ordination. The regularisation of the Acropolis was not to apply to the enclosed areas (probably the small precincts), but the realignment of the north wall of the temenos of Brauronian Artemis making it almost exactly parallel to the axis of the Propylaea was evidently part of the same plan.

According to the ancient sources the Propylaea took five years from 437-432 B.C. to build, they cost 2012 Talents and there were five gates for entering the Acropolis. From inscriptions of which 19 fragments have been found we learn that the construction was financed by grants from the Treasurers of Athene, the Hellenotamiai and the Treasurers of Hephaistos, from the sale of useless old surplus material, from the income of rental of houses belonging to Athene and from private contributions. The original plan was never fully carried out. The reason generally given is that parts of it (notably the southeast and southwest wings) would have encroached on the old-established precincts of Artemis Brauronia and Athene Niké. The beginning of the Peloponnesian War was another cause for the suspension of activities. Certain structural features and the unfinished condition of some parts had made it evident that the first plan must have provided for a larger building, and it was through the brilliant studies of Dörpfeld published in 1885 that this original plan was recovered in its general features, but later studies have led to alterations in many details.

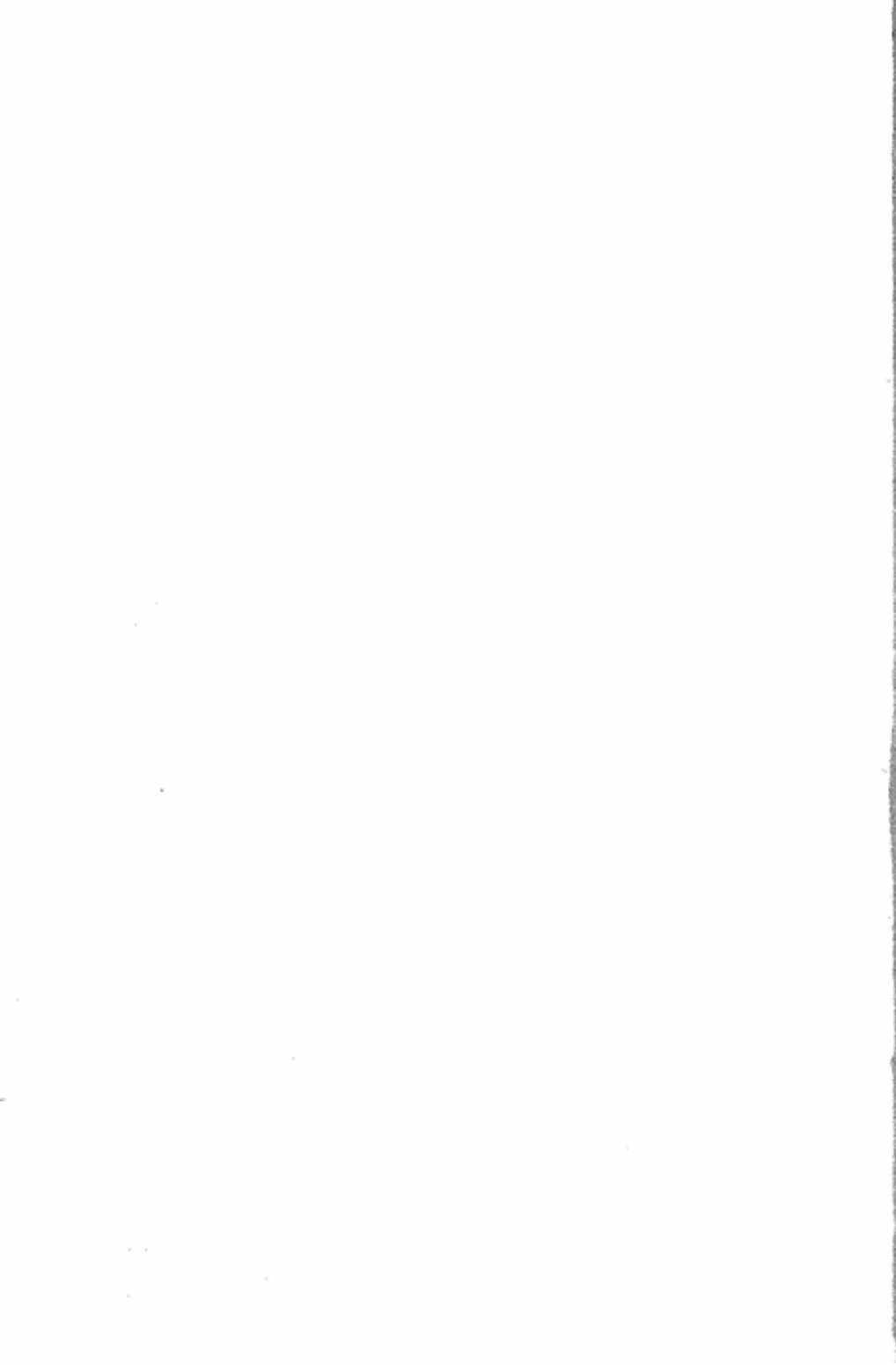
The whole western side of the Acropolis from the north wall to the south wall was presumably to be occupied by a complex structure consisting of central propylaea with wings at the northwest and southwest and larger wings at northeast and southeast, but though the central portion of the Propylaea and the northwest wing were practically completed, the southwest wing had to be much curtailed and the two large rooms never progressed very far.

The central part and the northwest and southwest wings formed a unit resting on four steps, the upper three of Pentelic marble and the lowest of dark Eleusinian stone on the sides and Pentelic marble in the centre. The Propylaea were 18.125 m. broad by 25.04 m. deep with six Doric columns 1.558 m. in lower diameter by 8.81 m. high on the western and 8.53 m. on the eastern façade and solid north and south walls *ca.* 16 m. long, terminating in antae.

Five entrance doors led through a wall 1.295 m. thick reached by means of five steps (the top one of Eleusinian stone, which continued round the side walls as orthostates), dividing the building into unequal parts with a western portico 15.243 m. and an eastern portico 7.358 m. deep. The large middle door was 7.378 m. \times 4.185 m., the side doors 5.403 m. \times 2.926 m. and 3.440 m. \times 1.472 m. The pivot holes and



PLATE I. Air view over Athens from the West. Agora Area inside white lines



cuttings for bumpers of the doors and the metal track for a wheel beneath the south valve of the central door are still visible. A rock-cut passageway 4 m. wide for the animals ran through the centre of the building and was flanked on each side of the west hall by three Ionic columns measuring 1.035 m. \times 10.39 m. At first there was no adequate provision for carrying off the rain water that poured through the central passage, but later a drain was cut in the rock to carry the water under the marble pavement of the east portico and a stepped ramp was built in the central passage. These two periods may be distinguished by the traces they have left on the blocks at the sides of the passageway.

Many pieces of the coffered ceiling were found and were replaced during the repairs carried out by Balanos in 1909-1917. The Doric coffers had two or three compartments, the Ionic had one or two. The design of stars and palmettes probably in gold on a blue ground and the bright green margins of the soffits can still be recognised in some cases. Penrose's remark that the colours were much brighter in 1846 than in 1888 is still more true now. How to make a coherent and harmonious effect of the roofing called for great architectural ingenuity, since the eastern part of the central section is higher than the western and all the wings had to be separately provided for. Each of the western wings was covered by a hip-roof; the central portion by roofs at two levels.

Certain details, such as dressing down some parts of the floor, trimming down the walls to the level of the draught-mouldings and removing the lifting bosses from some of the walls, were left unfinished.

The northwest wing consists of a closed room 10.760 m. \times 8.963 m. and a colonnade at the south 5.055 m. deep with three Doric columns (5.85 m. \times 1.065 m.) between antae. The east wall of the room extended *ca.* 1 m. beyond the intersection with its north wall. The entrance door, originally 4.540 m. \times 2.355 m. had a window (2.464 m. \times 0.818 m.) on each side, arranged unsymmetrically with the east window nearer the door than the western one. This apparent eccentricity was soundly based on the laws of perspective to afford the best view of the northwest wing from the point where the zigzag way up crossed the east-west axis of the Propylaea. This wing was known as the Pinakothek and seems originally to have been intended for frescoes, since a string-course 0.13 m. wide runs all round the room at a height of 2m.; but the evidence indicates that the wing was never so used and that the pictures in it must have been easel paintings on wood, plaster, marble, etc. Interesting parallels to the string course and windows have been noted in the Tholos and to stuccoed walls in the Hephaisteion (see *ante*, pp. 57, 84-85).

The southwest wing was to correspond over all with the northwest one, since the isolated western anta of its north face is directly opposite

the corresponding anta of the northwest wing, but Dörpfeld believed that instead of the solid west wall necessary in the northwest wing there was to be a row of four columns between antae opening on to the precinct of Niké. Such a colonnade with steps down to the precinct would have given little space around the east side of the altar of Athene Niké.

The west end of the south wall of the wing as actually built aligns with the westernmost column of the northwest and southwest wings and is connected with its corresponding column to the north by an entablature resting on an isolated pillar midway between them. This ingenious compromise at least gave a façade on the north side of the wing similar to the south façade of the northwest wing. The south wall would also have been the northern boundary of the ancient Sanctuary of the Charites which already occupied the area and could not have been encroached upon by a room built behind the existing southwest wing.

The obviously modified southwest wing was practically completed in accordance with the revised plan, but the same cannot be said of the large symmetrically placed wings or halls proposed on the east side.

The area behind the Propylaea to the northeast can never have been intended to be left as it now appears. The cornice on the south and west walls, of a kind used only on the interior of buildings and found also inside the northwest and southwest wings, the cuttings for the ends of beams to support a roof—midway on the south wall is a large rectangular one for the ridge pole and above the cornice of the west wall is a row for cross beams—the fact that the west wall, cornice and all, extends for some distance beyond its junction with the north wall of the Pinakothek and had provision for a door out of it, and that the northeast anta of the central part of the Propylaea is of a shape intended to receive not only its own architrave coming from the east but also one coming from the north, all these furnish enough information for a reasonable reconstruction.

If the west wall is prolonged northwards, presumably to the edge of the Acropolis where it would rest on the circuit wall, and the architrave from the southeast anta continued in a line parallel to it and both are joined at right angles to make the north wall, we should have a building measuring more than 23 m. \times 14 m. So deep a building would need an interior row of columns or piers. The foundations on the east side are of fifth-century blocks much obscured by modern repairs. Dörpfeld's restoration of a colonnade of nine slender columns between antae opening on to the Acropolis has been generally accepted, but others find a solid wall with one or more doors more consistent with the existing evidence. Nine columns would be too many and would require architrave blocks too short for the standard unit in the Propylaea.

Fewer columns would have had to be too large for the stylobate and could not be brought into conformity with the interior columns whose position is indicated by the beam cuttings on the west wall. The north façade would (like the Pinakothek) have had a frieze of thirteen triglyphs and twelve metopes. The northeast hall may have been intended for some utilitarian purpose such as a service court for the equipment needed to keep the Acropolis in order, with a reservoir beneath.

Probably the reason for abandoning the work was the beginning of

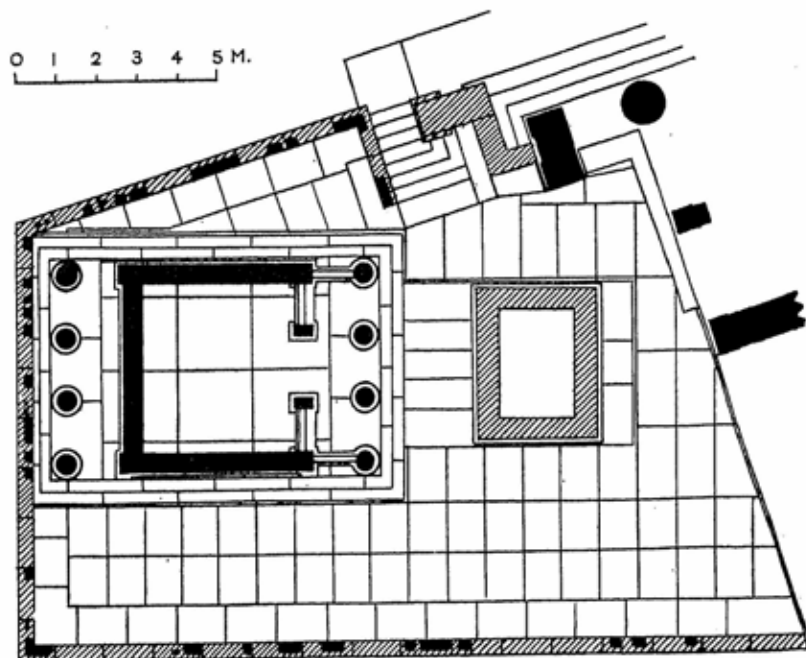


Fig. 28. Bastion of Athene Niké, Plan

the Peloponnesian War rather than religious taboos, since no large important temenos is known to have existed on the site. This corner of the Acropolis has been so badly destroyed by cisterns built upon it that few remains can be identified though parts of walls dating as early as the fifth century have been found. To the northeast of the Propylaea and backed up against the north Acropolis wall was a building 17 m. \times 18.50 m. consisting of two rooms side by side and a portico in front. It lies above early drainage canals that run north and south and discharge their water through the wall of the Acropolis above the Cave of Apollo. It was once provisionally identified as the Heroon of Pandion but it is not an enclosed temenos and the site of the Pandion has more

reasonably been placed at the southeast corner of the Acropolis (see *ante*, p. 146).

Though the original plan of the Propylaea doubtless included a wing at the southeast, as may be inferred from the southeast anta of the central portion of the Propylaea which was expected to support an architrave coming from the south, there is no evidence to show that the wing had progressed very far, if at all.¹¹

A decree of the year 449 B.C. authorises the building of a sanctuary of Athene Niké but the date of its completion is less definite. The dedication of a statue of Athene Niké in the precinct in 425/4 B.C. suggests that a temple to house the statue was in progress or completed by then. The fifth-century Propylaea had to avoid encroaching on a venerable precinct and the relative dating of Propylaea and Temple of Niké has had many advocates on both sides, though few if any nowadays would make the present Temple of Niké the older of the two.

An earlier poros temple (see *ante*, p. 145) with its altar stood on the old Niké bastion (some of whose facing-stones on the northern side are visible) at a level *ca.* 1.40 m. lower than the present pavement. The northern face of the new trapezoidal bastion, 8.60 m. high at the southwest corner, continues the line of the northern façade of the southwest wing of the Propylaea. Beyond the small staircase it extends for a distance of 9.140 m., returns at an angle of 107° 57' for the western face which is 10.725 m. long and then turns at right angles for the southern face which went as far as the old wall of the Acropolis and is 19.44 m. long. It is built of poros in ashlar style with alternate courses of headers and stretchers, the number of courses varying according to the rock below. On the north face immediately west of the small staircase there are eight courses and at the northwest corner sixteen. The sixteen courses at the northern end of the front increase to twenty-one at the southwest corner, while the courses of the south face diminish from twenty-one to nil at its eastern termination. In the middle of the western front are two niches 2.70 m. high divided by a stone pier. Lower down some remains of a Mycenaean wall are visible, and an opening has also been left in the northern face through which other remains of the Mycenaean wall may be seen.

The bastion was surmounted by a simple cornice on which was set the parapet known as the Niké balustrade, and just below the cornice pairs of "anchor holes" for garlands or other decorations were arranged in three rows on at least the north and west faces. A meticulous study of such technical details as the dowel holes, pry-holes and holes for the bars of the grille that surmounted the parapet has shown that there were two slabs on the east beside the small stairway, eight on the north, nine on the west and sixteen on the south, making a total of thirty-two (counting the corner slabs twice) and giving a length of nearly 42 m. The southern parapet is thought by some to have terminated opposite

the eastern façade of the Temple or else turned northwards as far as the southern wall of the Temple (thus making an "elbow" to correspond to that beside the small staircase), but with the rest of the bastion unprotected such an arrangement would have been very dangerous as well as unsightly. Several master sculptors, each apparently responsible for a continuous stretch of several slabs, seem to have worked on the parapet. The composition has been studied in great detail and it is generally agreed to be similar to that on the Parthenon frieze with the figures on the northern and southern faces moving towards the west and turning the corners to meet in the centre of the west front for the scene representing the climax of the ceremony. Its threefold character has long been recognised; on each side of the bastion was a figure of Athene, at least one sacrificial scene and one trophy scene.¹²

The marble slabs of the pavement of the bastion are at a level suitable for access through the southwest wing of the Propylaea. The Niké Temple could be reached also by means of a flight of steps going up from the zigzag way at a point immediately west of the western anta (B) mentioned before. There were originally seven steps of which five are left. The lowest three are 1.315 m. wide, the next two above are wider and cut to fit round the anta.

The reconstruction of the Temple by Ross and others in 1834-1838, largely from fragments that had been built into the Turkish fortifications of the Propylaea, was known to be inaccurate in some particulars, and when in 1935 the condition of the bastion became so unsafe that it had to be rebuilt, the opportunity of rebuilding the Temple more accurately was taken advantage of and the work was completed in 1940.

The small marble temple is oriented with its western front parallel to the western face of the bastion and close up to its edge. It stands on three steps resting on a euthynteria the upper part of which was intended to be left visible to a height of 0.094 m. above the pavement of the bastion. The stylobate measures 5.64 m. × 8.268 m. and has three large blocks on the east façade. The temple consists of a small cella with porticoes of four Ionic columns to east and west (amphiprostyle-tetrastyle). The cella, which is not absolutely rectangular, had solid walls on all sides except the eastern where there are three openings, the central one—the entrance—1.505 m. wide and the side ones 1.07 m., separated by two slender monolithic pillars between antae. Two very low steps, the upper one with rectangular holes for a grille, lead into the cella. On the exterior the cella walls have base-mouldings continuing that of the antae, orthostates 0.735 m. high, eight courses of blocks and an epikranitis with moulding like that of the anta capital.

The monolithic Ionic columns are 4.066 m. high and incline slightly towards the cella. The faces of the steps and the walls of the cella also

show the characteristic dislike of strictly vertical lines. Above the usual triple architrave the frieze (0.448 m. high) has an assembly of gods on the east and battles of Greeks against Greeks and against Persians on the other sides. All are in a much weathered condition. The ugly old terracotta casts of the frieze blocks in the British Museum have been advantageously replaced by casts of cream-coloured cement.

The cornices and cyma may be correctly restored, since many pieces which once belonged to them have been identified. Holes in the top of some blocks of the horizontal cornice show that there were figures in at least one of the pediments. One surviving fragment is an angle-block showing the junction of the horizontal and raking cornices made in one piece, as in the Erechtheion, the temples of Aphaia at Aigina, of Nemesis at Rhamnous and of the Athenians at Delos. Seventeen pieces of the cyma have been found, some with lions' heads and others with the bases of akroteria for the angles. There are no remains of antefixes and almost nothing is left of the roof tiles. The painted design of lotos and palmette still visible on the horizontal cyma is similar to that on the Parthenon, but in general there is a close resemblance to the Erechtheion in style and details of construction and the two must be near in date.

The western face of the altar was 1.70 m. east of the bottom step of the temple on a platform (*prothysis*) 0.223 m. high and 4.08 m. wide, whose western face is cut to fit against the step and the euthynteria.¹³

CHAPTER XVI

The Acropolis—The Erechtheion and Vicinity

THE Erechtheion does not follow the usual plan of a temple as we know it elsewhere all over the Greek world, its porches at north and south are unsymmetrical in size, position and decoration, and it is built on two levels.

No architect with a free hand to do as he pleased would have designed such a building and it is obvious that the normal plan for a temple was impossible here. The problem was how to include the sacred "tokens"—the salt sea and the marks of the trident or thunderbolt—in a temple dedicated jointly to Athene and Erechtheus-Poseidon and also to avoid interfering with the tomb of Kekrops in the Pandrosion close by. The venerable *temene* were north of the Old Temple of Athene in the low-lying area bounded on the east by a terrace wall (presumably on the line of an ancient wall of the Palace) running northward from near the east end of the Old Temple of Athene towards the north wall of the Acropolis. The difficulties involved in curtailing the more spacious and symmetrical building which seems to have been the architect's original design¹ were resourcefully met and the odd ground plan is more than compensated for by the exquisite detail and execution of the ornamental parts.

Three long inscriptions and nearly thirty fragments, many of which are pieces of one or the other of them, are concerned with the building of the Erechtheion. They belong to the years 409/8 to 406/5 B.C. The earliest is a report by three commissioners on the progress made on the building; the others give detailed specifications for parcelling out the work to be done. An architect was appointed yearly to supervise the carrying out of the master plan and under him were the trained craftsmen, some of whom were workers in marble, builders of the walls or carvers of the decorations on the mouldings or of the figures for the frieze; others worked in wood and made the great timber framework of the roof, or carved the borders of the wooden coffers of the ceiling, glued the pieces together and prepared ornaments for their centres or did gilding. Some of the workmen were paid by the piece, others by the day but all at the same rate. Many were free Athenian citizens from the different demes of Attica, the majority seem to have been metics or slaves.²

The plan can be reconstructed on paper with the greatest accuracy, but less is known about the history of the building on which the work was suspended for several years during the troubled times of the

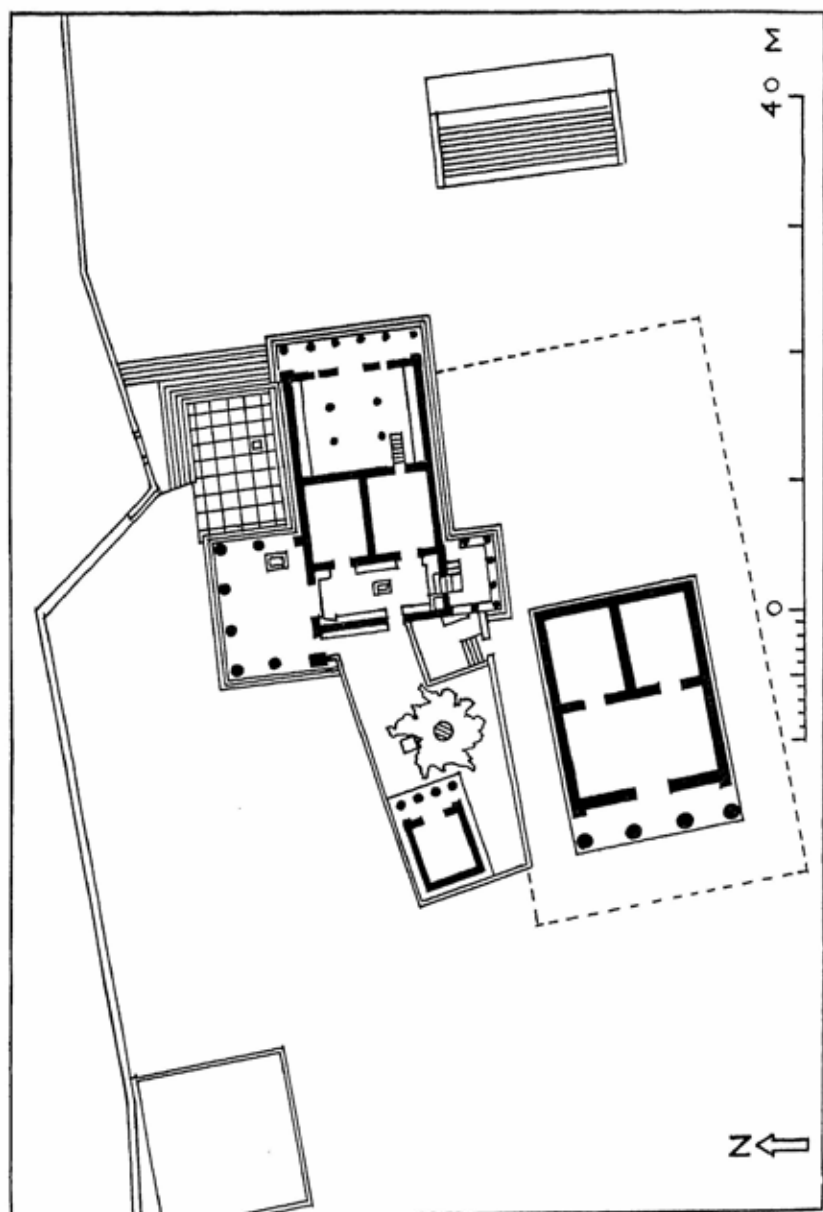


Fig. 29. Plan of the Erechtheion

Peloponnesian War. We do know that within half a century or less from the time of its completion there was a serious fire that called for repairs, and that repairs on a much larger scale also took place in the Roman period. The conversion into a Christian church destroyed most of the interior and the occupation in Turkish times as a dwelling-house or a powder-magazine did little to improve the condition of the building, but it is not difficult to sort out the fifth-century remains from those of later date.³

In its present form the core of the Erechtheion consists of a cella with a six-columned Ionic portico at the east, two smaller rooms side by side and a broad shallow room at the west. There is no west portico, but the line of the west wall is continued south to form the west side of the Porch of the Maidens and the large north portico of four by two Ionic columns overlaps *ca.* 3 m. beyond the west façade. The east portico is 3.24 m. higher than the northern portico and the two parts of the building were separated by a solid wall. The east cella is sometimes known as that of Athene-Erechtheus.

The rectangular building measured 24.076 m. \times 13.004 m. on the bottom step and rested on foundations of poros. On the north they were bedded on the rock; on the east they made a massive platform for columns, pavement and east wall, though most of the latter was cut away for the apse of the church and many of the blocks were used for walls between its nave and aisles. The foundation of the west wall was not connected at its north and south ends with the other walls and was built of four courses of poros stretchers north of the west door and three of marble south of the door. There are no indications of any foundations at the south end of the west wall where the gap is spanned by the great block many courses above. The steps of the south wall and the Porch of the Maidens rested on the foundations of the peristyle of the Old Temple of Athene and the north portico had a substructure of solid masonry.

The east wall is entirely destroyed except the antae. The southern anta has always remained in position; the northern was reconstructed in 1909 and includes all but two missing blocks and the capital in the British Museum. The wall, of ten courses above the base and orthostates, had three openings: a door 2.40 m. \times 4.70 m. with a lintel two courses in height, and two narrow windows 0.70 m. \times 2.709 m., placed symmetrically on either side. More than twenty fragments of the linings show that the windows were decorated with egg-and-dart, leaf-and-tongue, bead-and-reel and guilloche, thus recalling the ornamental scheme of the north door.

The outer faces of the north and south walls incline slightly inward. The orthostates were only half the thickness of the wall and there are none on the interior of the east cella. The mouldings on the outer side of the *epikranitis* were carved with a band of palmettes and flowers and

a similar design was painted on the inside. Blocks of the frieze from the southeast angle and many pieces of the cornice are left, but only one of the latter can be identified as Greek.

The base-course of the west wall is 0.445 m. high \times 1.897 m. broad and projects inside the building to form a bench along the western side of the west room. On the outside it is cut into two steps extending from the north portico to the west door. The northernmost block is much longer than the others and spans the narrow gap between the north and west foundations but is not bonded into the wall. The lower of the outer steps is at the level of the sills of the small door in the North Portico and of the west door. Large blocks project as a sort of platform under it for some distance towards the south, but opposite the west door its place is taken by a third step below the other two. The orthostates were the full thickness of the wall and at its south end the place of the next three courses is occupied by one huge block 4.43 m. long which supports the rest of the superstructure at this corner. The next four courses below extended on the inside of the building as far as the south wall, but on the exterior they were cut back obliquely and below them the foundations are lacking. These peculiarities as well as the fact that all courses south of the door from the level of its top down are rough or not entirely finished on their faces indicate that some obstacle already *in situ* prevented the usual normal construction. It is generally agreed that it was the Tomb of Kekrops, described below (pp. 177-178).

The door is south of the axis of the façade and cuts into the course below the orthostates for its sill to range with that of the small and large north doors. Though the two-course lintel and the nature of the central joint in the sill show that the door was originally Greek, it was later widened by 0.04 m. on the north side and by presumably the same amount on the south, which would leave 1.30 m. for the original width. There are two sets of sinkings for the pivots of double doors but neither is Greek. The first set is probably Roman, the second Christian. The lower wall was topped by a string course in which the moulding was left plain on the outside and had a leaf-and-tongue carved on the interior.

The west façade between the lower wall and the entablature as seen in drawings made before the bombardment of 1827 and as restored in 1904, does not give the original form but shows the restoration of the late first century B.C. Enough is left, however, for us to be sure about most features of the Greek façade. The column bases and the moulding-course connecting them are original and indicate that there were half-columns on the exterior and pilasters on the interior. The bases of the antae are cut on the same stones as the mouldings and that of the northern anta is also part of the adjacent block in the north portico. The upper part of the anta was rebuilt in 1904 with the Roman capital.

The south anta is all Greek and above the ninth course it is cut away to a width of 0.405 m. for a niche. The engaged columns cut on projecting blocks were joined by a low solid wall, probably finished with a coping to form a parapet, and the upper part of the intercolumniation was filled with wooden grilles. Over the Kekropeion the space was probably left entirely open. In the Roman reconstruction everything between the antae and above the column bases was renewed, presumably because of destruction by fire. The columns were now 5.613 m. high and connected by a solid wall pierced by three windows (1.544 m. \times 0.877 m.) symmetrically placed.

Nothing is left of the Greek entablature except three fragments of the cornice. The Roman epistyle had five blocks, four of which are now in position, the fifth was found near the Temple of Athene Niké with the face recessed in shallow panels for a series of Turkish inscriptions of the year 1805. This is the block shown at the south end in some of the drawings made before that year. The three remaining blocks of the frieze of Eleusinian marble (now placed at the north end) are re-used statue bases set on edge with the cuttings for the feet that stood on them still visible on the inside of the building. The remains of the cornice shown in old drawings and the only piece left of the tympanum, an angle-block indicating an inclination of 1 in 4, are all Roman.⁴

Although the interior of the building was entirely destroyed when it was converted into a Christian church, the plan and dimensions can be recovered. The position and thickness of the east transverse wall are shown by the projections (or "elbows") 0.65 m. thick still left on the faces of the north and south walls at a distance of 7.318 m. from the east front. There is no evidence for a door or stair here between the east cella and its neighbours on the lower level at the west. The west transverse wall in Greek times was in line with the east side of the south porch, in Roman times it was 0.325 m. farther west. It went only as high as course 10 of the south wall and was a screen rather than a complete wall up to the ceiling. The space between the east and west transverse walls was occupied by two rooms, side by side, as in the Old Temple of Athene and elsewhere. One building inscription gives detailed specifications for four marble valves 2.716 m. \times 0.82 m., implying two doors of approximately 2.626 m. \times 1.34 m. which would be placed in the west transverse wall. The exact line of the wall dividing the two rooms is uncertain, but the floor level of the south room was *ca.* 0.24 m. lower than the northern room.

The broad shallow room at the west with entrances from outside on north, west and south is generally identified as the *prostomiaion* of the inscriptions. In mediaeval or Turkish times a huge cistern was constructed underneath it, destroying most of the ancient remains. The salt sea of Poseidon was generally supposed to have been here,

probably in the centre, where it might be observed from above through a *stoma* or puteal. All this part of the rock surface has been seriously damaged by cutting down and the slight depression still to be seen can hardly represent the original appearance of the site of the sea. The east wall of this room was not the only one to be changed. The west wall was originally planned to be two Attic feet farther west than it now stands.

The niche, the metopon and the transverse beam mentioned in the inscriptions were in the west end of the building. The niche was cut in the seven upper courses of the south wall and the adjacent portion of the west wall near the entrance to the south porch and cuttings in the next two courses below indicate that there was a shelf or platform at the level of the eighth course. The purpose of the niche was apparently to reduce the weight above the large marble block spanning the gap beneath.

The metopon has been identified as the pilaster bounding the niche to the east, one course of which was probably formed by the mysterious *maschaliaia* (or "armpit-shaped block").

The transverse beam was the great timber running east and west over the west cross-wall which helped to support the roof of the west part of the main building. The appearance of the wooden coffered ceilings of the east and west cellas may be restored from the inscriptions. The former had four large beams running east and west and four sets of smaller ones resting on them from north to south, making twelve frames with 4×2 coffers in each. In the western part the great transverse beam ran from north to south with four beams crossing it from east to west to hold frames with 8×2 coffers east of the transverse beam and 5×2 west of it. The coffers were three-stepped with carved border mouldings, sometimes glued in, surrounding a square slab or panel ornamented in the centre. In some cases the centres had designs painted in tempera, others had a boss or a floral ornament. Since two ceilings seem to be referred to in the inscriptions, the painted one was probably in the east cella and the moulded one in the west. The mention of wax models for the latter implies that they were made of some plastic material, sometimes with gilding added. The technical aspects of the reconstruction of the roofs and ceilings are fully discussed in *The Erechtheum*.⁵ The roofs of the porticoes will be described with the porticoes themselves, to which we now turn.

The northernmost of the six Ionic columns of the East Portico was removed by Lord Elgin and is still in the British Museum. The total height of the columns, comprising base, four drums and capital, is 6.586 m. All incline 0.02 m. towards the east wall. The corner columns incline the same amount towards the centre but the others are vertical, as are the antae, and there is no entasis. The neck of the shaft has bead-and-reel, anthemion, bead-and-reel, egg-and-dart, with guilloche between the volutes. The twenty volutes are all alike and the inscriptions record the purchase of gold leaf for gilding their eyes.

The blocks of the epistyle were laid from north to south, those of the frieze, set back 0.054 m., in the opposite direction. The cornice shown in Dalton's drawing in 1749 fell later but was replaced in the reconstruction of 1907, as was a small fragment of the raking cornice at the south. Although nothing is left of the tympanum, it may be reconstructed on the basis of the inscriptions and the Roman rebuilding of the west pediment.

The ceiling was built entirely of marble resting on beams and interbeams, a few Greek fragments of which are left, but the coffers are of Roman date. Like the wooden ones already described the coffers had a frame of carved mouldings with a central slab inserted to form the ground, but those in the north and south porticoes were made from one solid block.⁶

The North Portico had four by two Ionic columns 7.635 m. high, with a slight entasis and a narrow fillet in place of the lower bead-and-reel on the neck. The central columns on the north front have a narrower intercolumniation than the others, probably to accord with the ceiling beams. All the columns incline slightly towards the south and to the diagonal of the portico. The eyes of the volutes are sunk to receive a bronze disc and the guilloche was decorated with beads of glass. They were seen as recently as a hundred years ago but there is some difference of opinion about the distribution of the colours, which include red, blue, yellow and purple. The remainder of the superstructure—frieze, cornices, tympanum, sima and tiles—are mostly Roman except a few Greek fragments re-used in Roman times. Many were set up again in the reconstruction by Balanos. The frieze, of dark Eleusinian marble, has a very slight batter; the back of the tympanum has a large hole cut for the insertion of the ridge beam and one fragment from an angle block has both the horizontal and raking cornices cut in it, giving a pitch of 1 in 4 for the pediment.

The beams and interbeams of the ceiling allowed for four frames from east to west and the same number from north to south, each containing two coffers, except for the opening in the southern part of the second row from the east. In order to reduce the weight on the ceiling beams the blocks are cut on top to follow roughly the shape of the coffers below, which were framed by two carved and painted egg-and-dart mouldings and an elaborate meander pattern in encaustic. Each coffer has a hole in the centre for a bolt to secure an ornament of marble or bronze.

In 1903 during repairs a rectangular opening in the ceiling was discovered above the hole in the floor showing the marks of the trident or the thunderbolt. The beams at the sides of the opening are dressed for upright blocks, the southern and western of which have been found and replaced, the others are modern.

The famous great door into the west room was originally 4.882 m.

high by 2.427 m. at the bottom with an inclination of 0.044 m. to each jamb whose careful finish shows that the present inner sheathing as well as the lining of the lintel are carelessly made additions. The extant lintel consists of two stones ranging with courses 8 and 9 of the wall, the lower stone dowelled to the console at the east end, but since in all other doors the lintels were blocks two courses high this is obviously a replacement. The design and ornament on the lintel are inferior to those on the jambs but are a tolerably accurate copy of the original. The extant cuttings for sockets in the sill are probably contemporary with those in the west door. In Greek times the eastern leaf of the door could fold back against the northern wall of the west room, but for the western leaf to swing back *ca.* 90° it was necessary to cut out the bench at the base of the west wall.

The small doorway opening into the Pandroseion from the western part of the south wall of the North Porch agrees in level and dimensions with the west door. There is no evidence that it ever had a door or gate in Greek times, all the remaining marks of such are Christian or Turkish.

In the southeast corner of the portico an opening in the pavement shows fissures in the rock below enclosed in a crypt with a very small door (0.63 m. \times 1.20 m.) beneath the north wall of the main building just east of the west cross-wall. There is no sill and the rock inside has not been smoothed. The lintel was not strong enough for the weight on it and has an ancient iron bar set in lead on its lower surface to strengthen it, but is nevertheless cracked.

The opening in the floor is under that in the roof, obviously to leave the fissures exposed to the light of day. They have been identified as the marks left by the trident of Poseidon or by the thunderbolt of Zeus Hypatos, more probably the latter, since the practice of leaving spots struck by lightning open to the sky was well known in antiquity. The position of the opening is shown by the dressings of the stones, and references in the inscriptions to the altar of the Thychochos ("Pourer of the offerings") in the North Porch indicate that the only place for so large an altar was round the opening. The orthostate blocks mentioned in the inscription would have formed the sides of an altar of *ca.* 4 \times 5 Attic feet (*ca.* 1.304 m. \times 1.630 m.) enclosing an opening of *ca.* 2 \times 3 Attic feet (0.652 m. \times 0.978 m.). The altar probably had the customary step or platform broader on the west and south sides.⁷

The exterior court east of the North Portico had a pavement of marble slabs on poros foundations, and twelve steps went up at the east side. Two of them are left at the southern end and there are traces of others on the podium of the East Portico of the temple.⁸

The South Portico, better known as the Porch of the Maidens (Korai), is too familiar to need much description. Its three-stepped podium rests on the foundations of the Old Temple of Athene and includes a base moulding, an orthostate course and an egg-and-dart

moulding above the steps. The entrance at its northeast corner was part of the original plan but such awkward features as a very high step (0.488 m.) to the sill, the danger of damage to the delicate base mouldings, and the four narrow steps leading westward at right angles down to the stair into the west room indicate that the entrance cannot have been intended for the general public.

The entablature of the porch was supported by six Korai, arranged 4×2 . They differ slightly amongst themselves in the style of hair and drapery, in the places of the joints between capital and abacus and in the intervals at which they are set. Unfortunately none of them has escaped injury. The northernmost statue on the east is modern and the second from the west on the south is a cast from the original in the British Museum.

The antae behind the Korai have base and shaft fastened to the face of the south wall while their capitals are carved in a block of the wall. The base and lower part of the shaft of the west anta were cut on the huge stone that spanned the Kekropeion. The epistyle so lightly borne by the maidens consists of three blocks on the south face and two on the sides. The discs on the upper fascia are carved on the stone (except the third from the west which was inserted) and were intended to be rosettes but the work was never completed. Above are dentils, and leaf-and-tongue. Only two small fragments of the sima with egg-and-dart and bead-and-reel mouldings are left. The cornice was the outer face of the large roof blocks whose under surface was the coffered ceiling.

The roof slopes slightly towards the east, south and west from its highest point at the middle of the north side and provision was made to prevent leaks on to the painted ceiling. The total number of coffers was 5×8 , all of the same length from north to south but varying in width from east to west to agree with the difference in the roof-stones. Each of the 40 coffers was framed by a bead-and-reel moulding surrounded by a narrow band of colour and a similar band was used midway between the coffers, but there is no trace of painted ornament on their grounds.

The floor which has long since disappeared extended round the stairs to the west room and the existing evidence suggests that the opening in which the stairs descended was enclosed on the south and west by a wall which helped support the pavement at the west but served on the south only as a facing to hide the foundations of the Old Temple of Athene.⁹

The frieze round the building consisted of a background of slabs of dark Eleusinian stone 0.617 m. high to which were attached figures sculptured in very high relief in Pentelic marble. Except for the part of the north wall where the roof of the North Portico cuts it off, the frieze extended round the whole building and measured *ca.* 49 m. in length.

The frieze of the North Portico was slightly higher (0.683 m.) and 21 m. of its 25 m. length still survive.

At least 112 fragments of the marble figures have been found, most of them in very bad condition, and their distribution on the building is uncertain. There are male and female figures, seated, standing, in action and in groups, and also fragments of chariots and horses, all apparently arranged in a series of scenes rather than a continuous procession. One or two may be identified with those mentioned in the inscriptions but they give no clue to the subject of the whole design. As far as can be judged, the similarity of style—especially of the drapery which is midway between that of the Parthenon and the Temple of Athene Niké—suggests a single designer, but the execution is very uneven and the technical experiment of contrasting the colours of the marble was evidently not successful enough to inspire repetition on any other known building.¹⁰

Although the actual remains and the inscriptions make a reconstruction of the building practically certain, there still are questions connected with the Erechtheion which have been discussed *ad infinitum* and on which opinions continue to differ.

The building was called by several names. The Erechtheion was never its official title in antiquity although the close association of Athene and Erechtheus goes back at least to the time of Homer. In the Chandler inscription in the British Museum the building is called "the temple in which is the ancient image", and for this reason it is believed by many to have been the ancient temple (*archaios naos*) frequently referred to in the inscriptions, though others think it was the Old Temple of Athene that was meant.

Into the rich and complex subject of the meaning of the cults we cannot enter here, but some of the material expressions of these cults such as statues, altars and votive offerings, may be noted. First and foremost there was the ancient image, a *xoanon* of olive wood supposed to have fallen from heaven and presumably at one time housed either in the Old Temple of Athene or in a shrine on the site of the Erechtheion. After the Persian Wars a safe temporary place was needed for the statue which had been removed to Salamis in time of danger, until a more worthy home could be provided in the east cella of the Erechtheion. Inside the building some of the foundation blocks of the east wall have been cut to avoid or to fit against a small structure, probably a shrine, or perhaps a baldacchino, round which the east cella was built later. Along with the *xoanon* Pausanias saw the ever-burning lamp of Kallimachos, a wooden image of Hermes covered with boughs and several votive offerings, including a folding chair supposed to have been made by Daedalos, and such spoils taken from the Medes as the cuirass of Mastatios (elsewhere said to be made of links of gold) and the dagger of Mardonios.

Pausanias says the altar of Zeus Hypatos, to whom were offered neither flesh nor wine but only cakes, was in front of the entrance and inside were the altars of Poseidon-Erechtheus, of Boutes and of Hephaistos, and on the wall were paintings of the family of Boutes. He was the nephew of King Erechtheus and inherited as his ancestral share from his grandfather Pandion the priesthoods of Athene and Poseidon-Erechtheus. His descendants were the Eteobutades who held these priesthoods and had an inscribed throne in the Theatre of Dionysos.

Two living objects were connected with the Erechtheion. One was the olive tree which was in the open air to the west. Though described as very crooked (πρόγκυρος), it was nevertheless vigorous, for Herodotos and others tell how after it was burnt down by the Persians it had sprouted a cubit by the second day after, when the Athenians returned. Pausanias who likes a good story says it grew two cubits.

The other was the serpent, guardian of the house, whose refusal to eat its honey-cakes was taken as an indication that the citadel should be abandoned. Some writers mention two serpents, but the orthodox version of one is more reasonable if we accept the view that the serpent was supposed to be none other than King Erechtheus himself.¹¹

A question still unsettled is the relation of the Old Temple to the Erechtheion. The former was, as we have seen, burnt by the Persians and many pieces of its colonnade were built into the Acropolis walls, but there has been much discussion whether the whole or part of the principal structure was ever rebuilt. Many believe its western part was restored to serve as the "Opisthodomos" or State Treasury until the mid-fourth century. That at once raises the problem of its relation to the Erechtheion, since the South Porch is built upon its stylobate and a restored "Opisthodomos" would have ruined the view of the Korai.

Most authorities think it incredible that the porch should have been all but concealed by the Old Temple of Athene and believe that even if it had been rebuilt wholly or in part the intention was to remove it when the Erechtheion was finished.¹²

Two important precincts are known to have been situated west of the Erechtheion. One included the Tomb of Kekrops already mentioned several times in connection with the great lintel placed to avoid encroaching on the area beneath it. Certainly there must have been something very sacrosanct at that point, but there can have been room for only one corner of it under the big stone. On the west wall of the Erechtheion just south of the door there is visible a raised surface showing where the coping of the north wall of the Kekropeion projected over the south side of the doorway while the wall itself must have abutted against the Erechtheion. The difference in the dressing of the wall, where the lower courses are rough or unfinished, indicate that the ground level of the tomb was considerably higher than the Pandroseion. Evidence for the south boundary of the precinct is

provided by traces on the stylobate of the Old Temple of Athene and by a wall block cut to fit against the Porch of the Maidens, but the west boundary can only be conjectured.

The second temenos was the Pandrosceion in which there was a temple and the sacred olive tree. The line of its north wall may be determined by remains just west of the small door in the North Portico, and rock-cuttings along its line suggest that the small temple stood close to the boundary. The exact size and shape of the precinct are not known, but it is reasonable to suppose that its south boundary was part of the terrace wall of the Old Temple of Athene.

Next after the Pandrosceion and according to Pausanias "not far from the Temple of Athene Polias" dwelt the Arrephoroi. Their house has been identified with the foundations between the Pandrosceion and the Acropolis wall belonging to a fifth-century building with a large room and a portico of two columns *in antis* on the south, which had been built over one end of a stoa of earlier date. To the west of the building is the stairway already described (pp. 12-13) as leading to the grotto and precinct of Agraulos. The top of the staircase lies presumably within the area used by the Arrephoroi as a court for the ball games mentioned by Plutarch (*Vit. X Or.*, p. 639b). Thus the secret stair started within the enclosure away from public view. The building has been called a very substantial residence for four little girls, but their importance in Athenian religious life and ritual would be a sufficient explanation.¹³

CHAPTER XVII

The Acropolis—Other Monuments, The Visit of Pausanias

BESIDES the three great monumental buildings—the Erechtheion, last to be built but situated amongst the oldest sanctuaries on the Acropolis, the Parthenon, standing high above the great terraces to the south and reached from the court at the west as well as from the northeast which must always have been the principal approach to it, and the Propylaea, dominating the western entrance—there were other important structures built at the same time or soon after which covered the surface of the Acropolis.

As part of the uniform plan the direction of the north wall of the ancient temenos of Artemis Brauronia was changed slightly to conform to the axis of the Propylaea. The flight of eight small rock-cut entrance steps near its east end and presumably also the eastern boundary wall were at right angles to the earlier line. The western boundary was the great Mycenaean wall, at its highest and thickest here.

The southern side of the temenos was occupied by a stoa with the corner of its west wall solidly bonded into the Kimonian wall of the Acropolis though the south wall of the stoa does not coincide with the Acropolis wall but leaves room for a narrow passageway. The stoa was *ca.* 38·50 m. \times 7·25 m. and had at each end a room 7·25 m. \times 10·50 m. that projected northward and had a door in its north wall. There was no access to the rooms from the stoa proper. Between the antae a row of ten Doric columns formed the northern façade of the colonnade.

In the Mnesiklean period a stoa *ca.* 17·50 m. in length was added on the east side of the precinct north of the north room and equal to it in width. Cuttings on the Acropolis rock east of the steps into the precinct apparently were intended for the northern end of the east stoa which has been restored with five Doric columns between short spur-walls.

No traces of a temple have been found in the precinct though the worship of Artemis Brauronia was an old and important one. Inscriptions mention two images of the goddess in the precinct on the Acropolis, generally differentiated as an old seated image of stone and a standing one which may have been the statue by Praxiteles said by Pausanias to have been here. The ancient wooden image brought from the Tauric Crimea by Orestes was in the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron.

Artemis was primarily a women's goddess and the dedications to her are mostly listed as raiment, jewellery, mirrors and so on. The

remote antiquity of the worship going back to primitive times is especially well illustrated by the mimetic dance in which a group of specially chosen young girls was clothed in the skins of bears.¹

We know from inscriptions that the Chalkotheke played an important part as a repository for treasure and presumably, as its name implies, also served as an arsenal, but there is no mention of it in literature. The excavations of 1888-9 brought to light the foundations of a large building between the Parthenon and Brauronian Artemis and later explorations have made it possible to restore its probable appearance though nothing remains of its superstructure. The foundations were of poros headers and stretchers and were 2.60 m. broad on the east side where they rested on fill and 1.50 m. on the north side where they were built on the rock. The north and east walls did not meet at exactly right angles and the east wall of the portico added later on the north side is not in line with that of the building proper. The south wall rested on part of the Kimonian Acropolis wall with a narrow passageway left between them; the west wall utilised the southern portion of the east boundary of the temenos of Artemis Brauronia. The south wall was *ca.* 43 m. long, the north one 41.50 m., the end walls. *ca.* 14 m. Since the building was a storehouse, it has been restored with a large room with six interior columns to support the roof, and a portico with 18 × 3 Doric columns. The date of the older part of the Chalkotheke has been put at approximately 450 B.C. by its most recent excavator.²

Among the famous monuments of the fifth century on the Acropolis were the Athene Promachos, the statue of Perikles, and the Athene Lemnia, all seen by Pausanias on his way out.

The large platform levelled in the rock about 40 m. east of the Propylaea and prepared for a base *ca.* 5 m. square is generally agreed to have been the site of the "Great Bronze Statue" usually known as the Promachos. Some of the poros blocks of the pedestal are still *in situ* and pieces of a capping course near at hand adorned with a huge egg-and-dart moulding have been recognised as belonging to it. The base must have been fairly low in order that the engraving on the shield might easily be seen. From the description of Pausanias we learn that the Promachos was made by Pheidias, a dedication from the spoils of the Persian War, that her shield was decorated with the battle of Centaurs and Lapiths engraved by Mys and that the tip of her spear and the crest of her helmet were visible to mariners on the route from Sounion. This last statement shows that her spear must have been held upright. The height of the statue is given as 9 m. by the mediaeval historian Niketas Choniates who saw it after it had been removed to Constantinople, and who has left a detailed description.³

Pausanias does not say that the statue was visible from Sounion, which would be impossible, but merely to ships coming in from Sounion before reaching Athens. The upper part of such a statue could

be seen after rounding Cape Zoster at a distance of about 10 km. The sight-line passes through the top of the south Stoa of Artemis Brauronia.

Next after the Promachos Pausanias speaks of the bronze chariot made from a tenth of the ransoms taken from the Boeotians and the Chalkidians in Euboea. The battles took place in 506 B.C. when both enemies were defeated on the same day. Herodotos tells us that the prisoners were taken to Athens and kept in chains until they were ransomed and the chains were hung on walls smoke-blackened by the fire of the Medes, over against the megaron that faces west.

A fragment of the original inscription for the base of the quadriga found in 1887 a little to the northeast of the Propylaea is cut on a block of Eleusinian marble in letters of the late sixth century. The order of the inscription is the same as in the two elegaic couplets attributed to Simonides which read as follows:

"When Chalcis and Boeotia dared her might
Athens subdued their pride in valorous fight,
Gave bonds for insults; and the ransom paid,
From the full tenth these steeds for Pallas made."

Two other fragments of a base of Pentelic marble also found on the Acropolis have a portion of the same inscription in letters of Periklean date, from which it appears that the original monument had been destroyed by the Persians, and replaced by another. The chariot seen by Herodotos and Pausanias must have been the later one, since the order of the lines, which has been changed in the second version, is that given by Herodotos.

The position of the chariot has caused much discussion. Herodotos speaks of it as being on the left hand as one enters the Propylaea. Whether he means the Old Propylaea or the Mnesiklean Propylaea cannot be proved, but it must surely have been the former, for such a monument would have interfered shockingly with a view of the façade of the Propylaea. A large cutting in the rock suitable for a chariot and on the way up to the Old Propylaea was in just the place to afford an admirable view of the monument on the left of the ascending visitor. When the orientation of the approach was changed to conform with the Mnesiklean Propylaea the old monument would presumably have been removed to give a clear and spacious entrance to the new Propylaea and placed where it was seen later by Pausanias. From his itinerary the natural conclusion is that in his time it stood between the Erechtheion and the Propylaea but nearer the latter. The cuttings in the rock near the site of Athene Promachos for a large base with the same orientation are generally thought to be the position which it occupied.⁴

Although the chains and the quadriga are both mentioned in the dedication, there is no reason to suppose that they necessarily were kept near each other. A megaron facing west can only have been in a

temple or other considerable building on the Acropolis itself and the smoke-blackened walls can hardly have been those of the Old Propylaea although we know they were damaged by Persian fire, repaired and used again.

On the Acropolis the candidates are the Old Temple of Athene and the hypothetical "Ur-Parthenon", both of which had rooms facing west that might be called *megara*, but after the sack by the Persians the foundations beneath the Older Parthenon were used also for the Periklean Parthenon and could not have been Herodotos's blackened walls.

The rough unfinished face of the terrace wall west of the Old Temple of Athene was obviously meant to be concealed, but a terrace wall farther west, behind the cuttings for the Promachos and the chariot, is not beyond possibility. A broad shallow trench-like depression running in a north and south direction from near the steps up to the terrace west of the Parthenon and passing directly east of the site of the bases may have been intended for a wall to serve as the western facing of a large terrace—or perhaps a series of stepped terraces—a good part of which was probably once occupied by the palace of the prehistoric kings. The very shallow nature of the so-called trench suggests that the wall was a Mycenaean one composed of unidentifiable undressed stones, since no blocks for it have been found. The southern wall of the terrace would also have been the northern boundary of the well-worn processional road for animals which was bounded on the south by the northern terrace wall of the Parthenon. The north wall of the terrace presumably ran south of two large blocks for statue bases which are still in position about 30 m. west of the North Porch of the Erechtheion.⁵

The statue of Perikles is the next offering seen by Pausanias and may have been the one by Kresilas which Pliny calls "the Olympian Perikles worthy of its title" known to us from many copies.

The last statue seen by Pausanias before he left the Acropolis was the Lemnian Athene which he thinks the most worth seeing of the works of Pheidias, an opinion shared and more strongly expressed by Lucian and Pliny who call it the most beautiful. In contrast to the Athene Parthenos and the Promachos, she was represented as unarmed.⁶

These buildings and monuments were the outstanding features of the Acropolis in the fifth century but we know it was covered with a veritable forest of statues and other dedications, many of which survived in Pausanias's time surrounded by a multitude of later additions. One can sympathise with Pausanias, when he begins by saying he intends to describe only the most important things, and then before he is half way round the circuit pathetically observes "but I must hurry on for I have to describe the whole of Greece". Since so much has been written about the Acropolis we shall follow his example and confine ourselves to the monuments that have been identified or

about which recent discoveries or discussions have added to our knowledge.

Pausanias approaches the Acropolis by what he says is its one entrance and is immediately struck by the splendour of the Propylaea. He doubtless climbed up the broad marble staircase built in Roman times to replace the old zigzag way. Before actually entering the Propylaea he notices several things but does not mention either the Agrippa monument or the Beulé Gate through which the present entrance leads.

The gate to which his name has ever since been attached was discovered by the French archaeologist Beulé in 1852 built into a Turkish bastion and was recognised as made of ancient material, identified by the inscription over the door as part of the choregic monument of Nikias, dedicated in 320-319 B.C. The original site of the Nikias monument was placed by Dörpfeld above the Odeion of Herodes Attikos where there are cuttings in the rock of suitable size for a platform, but it is now known to have stood just west of the Theatre of Dionysos (see p. 110).

The gate consists of a marble wall 7.20 m. wide by 6.74 m. high with a central doorway in the axis of the Propylaea and two large flanking towers. The central part was built largely of blocks from the Nikias monument. The door was 3.87 m. high and tapered slightly towards the top. The architrave and cornice were of Pentelic marble, the frieze had metopes of marble set between triglyphs of poros on which were traces of colour. The inscription on the architrave says that Nikias, son of Nikodemos from Xypate, dedicated the monument after a victory as choregos with the boys of the tribe of Kekropis when Nearchos was archon.

The towers, whose walls are only 0.56 m. thick, are neatly constructed of poros blocks many of which bear masons' marks. The inscribed base of a statue by the fourth-century sculptor Demetrios the Athenian is built into the east side of the south tower. The towers project forward 5.20 m. but are not uniform in size, the north one being considerably longer than a square. The date of this composite structure which is 36 m. west of the Propylaea and 16 m. below the level of its stylobate is uncertain. An inscription of the fourth century A.D. provides for the construction of the towers, but there is nothing to show why or when the monument of Nikias was placed here.⁷

To return to the approach proper. By the time of Pausanias the series of terraces, ramps, bits of early walls, a sixth-century altar (east of the north tower), and cuttings for statues and stelai, had been concealed by the broad flight of steps built in the time of Claudius and extending all the way across the approach, except for the central passage.

Ever since prehistoric times the main approach to the Acropolis was just west of the Niké bastion where the deep cuttings for security of

footing are visible. When the Acropolis was a fortress the approach followed close under the north side of the early bastion up a steep grade to the heavily defended gate; in the time of the Kimonian Propylaea the processional road took a long zigzag course across to where the Agrippa monument stood later, turned back to the north side of the bastion and led by easier gradients through the Propylaea; in Mnesikleian times the different orientation of the Propylaea called for some changes in the direction of the ramp, but at all periods there were broad stopping places or terraces where good views of the procession and of the Propylaea itself might be obtained. The stranded anta (B) of the southwest wing was put there to give a symmetrical appearance to the façades of the northwest and southwest wings, (see pp. 161-162).

One of the important stopping places on the way up was the terrace west of the North Wing, on which stood the monument of Agrippa. Both terrace and monument are orientated parallel to the foundations of the Pinakothek and not to the Propylaea itself.

The monument stands on a foundation of poros and conglomerate 4.50 m. high, has three steps, a base-moulding and a shaft of Hymettos marble, giving a total height of 8.91 m., and measuring 3.31 m. from east to west and 3.80 m. from north to south. It narrows slightly upwards and ends in a cornice. A four-horse chariot stood on the top. Careful study of the monument of Agrippa has shown that it was not originally erected in his honour. The architecture is Pergamene, not Roman, there are traces of an earlier inscription on the west face under the dedication to Agrippa and it may well date from *ca.* 178 B.C. when Eumenes II and Attalos won chariot victories in the Panathenaic games. The cuttings on the plinth at the top show that two successive groups of horses had stood there. According to Plutarch and Dio Cassius the statues of Antony and Cleopatra which once occupied the monument were hurled down by a hurricane in 31 B.C. This left an excellent place for a statue of Antony's successful rival.

The inscription reads:

"The people (set up) Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, thrice Consul, their own benefactor."

The third consulship of Agrippa fell in 27 B.C. and the principal building associated with him was the Odeion in the Kerameikos known as the Agrippaion identified with the recently excavated Odeion in the Agora (see p. 75).⁹

Pausanias next mentions certain figures of horsemen and cannot say whether they represent the sons of Xenophon or are purely decorative. They stood opposite each other on either side of the approach to the Propylaea. Portions of the inscribed bases of both have been set up on the west anta of the southwest wing and at the southwest corner of the northwest wing. The south pedestal is topped by a slab of Hymettos

marble with marks for the attachment of a statue on both the upper and lower faces and an inscription on each of the longer vertical faces saying that the statue was dedicated by the cavalry out of the spoils taken from the enemy when Lakedaimonios, Xenophon, and Pronapes were colonels, and that it was made by Lykios of Eleutherai, son of Myron. The inscription, which reads a different way up on the opposite faces, shows that the slab was turned upside down to hold a new statue. The original inscription may be dated *ca.* 450 B.C., the second one, as well as the corresponding inscription on the north base are in letters of archaising form in use in early Imperial times, and since there is an inscription cut lower down on the south pedestal dedicating the statue to Germanicus Caesar who visited Greece in A.D. 18 these inscriptions may belong to the same time.

The victory celebrated took place soon after 457 B.C. before the present Propylaea were built and there is no definite information when the horsemen were set in place on the antae. The cuttings in the base now in position show that the horse was represented in action with two hoofs raised and had a figure of a horseman or groom beside him holding the bridle. Pausanias's guess about the sons of Xenophon the historian was an unfortunate one, for they were not born when the statue was erected. Probably he saw the familiar name and did not stop to read the rest.¹⁰

After mentioning the temple of Athene Niké and here as always he is much more interested in the myths and cults than in the architecture, he visits the Pinakotheké and describes the paintings in it at considerable length. Whether the pictures were frescoes or on panels of wood has been much disputed, but the incomplete finish of the walls proves that they can never have been used for fresco painting (see *ante*, p. 161).¹¹

Next, at the entrance to the Acropolis, Pausanias notes Hermes called Propylaios and also the Graces (Charites). The finest of the many copies of Hermes Propylaios—found at Pergamon and now in the Museum at Istanbul—is a herm of a bearded head with the inscription: "You will recognise Alkamenés's beautiful statue, the Hermes before the Gates. A Pergamene set it up." It may be a copy of the statue seen by Pausanias although he does not name the sculptor. A probable site for it is in the niche where there are cuttings on the floor for a square base, on the north side of the west façade of the Propylaea close to the Pinakotheké which Pausanias has just visited.

The Graces or Charites, attributed by Pausanias to Socrates the philosopher, probably because he was the most famous person of that name, though Socrates was the name of a painter, a sculptor and an Athenian magistrate whose name appears on tetradrachms with figures of three dancing Graces as his official symbol, were favourite subjects in bas-reliefs of all periods, sometimes walking hand in hand, other

times dancing, and their place may have been in the niche on the south side. Their precinct on the bastion of Athene Niké has already been mentioned (p. 145) in connection with the Old Propylaea to whose forecourt it was adjacent. It was a smallish trapezoidal enclosure backed up against the Pelasgian wall with an entrance from the bastion on the north side. The cult was presumably of great antiquity, as was also the closely associated worship of Hekate of the Tower (*Epipyrgidia*) who is said first to have been represented in triple form by Alkamenes.¹²

Before going to the safely identified precinct of Artemis Brauronia Pausanias mentions several statues, some of which may have stood in the Propylaea itself where a number of positions for them have been suggested.

The semi-circular base of the statue of Athene Hygieia backs up against the southernmost column of the east portico. On its front is the inscription: "The Athenians to Athene Hygieia. Pyrrhos the Athenian made it" and on the top are the footmarks of the statue. Plutarch (*Per.* 13) tells how when one of the workmen fell from the roof of the Propylaea and his life was despaired of the Goddess appeared to Perikles in a dream and prescribed a herb that cured the victim, and Perikles consequently set up the statue of Athene Hygieia near the altar which, as they say, was there before. A platform 3.60 m. east of the statue-base supports the remains of an altar whose southeast corner is made of marble blocks 0.88 m. high on which rested the slabs of an altar of table shape. It is set nearer the east than the west edge of the platform and leaves room for the priest to stand facing towards the east.¹³

Somewhere nearby, inside or outside the Propylaea, was the bronze statue of Diitrephes pierced with arrows which greatly aroused Pausanias's interest and astonishment because Diitrephes was famous for his exploits in Thrace and according to Pausanias the only Greek archers were the Cretans. A large cubical base of Pentelic marble found in 1889 west of the Parthenon with the inscription in letters of ca. 440 B.C. "Hermolykos, son of Diitrephes [dedicated] the first fruits. Kresilas made it" probably refers to an earlier Diitrephes (perhaps the grandfather) and is worth notice here only because it bears the name of a famous sculptor.

Probably in the precinct of Artemis Brauronia was the bronze statue of the so-called Wooden Horse about whose story Pausanias is very sceptical, "since", he says, "everyone who does not suppose the Phrygians (*i.e.* Trojans) utter fools knows that what Epeios made was really an engine for breaking down the wall". From other sources we learn that the horse on the Acropolis showed four Greeks peeping out from it and was dedicated by Chaeredemos of Koilé, son of Evangelos. Two blocks of Pentelic marble found in 1870 in the precinct of Artemis Brauronia are inscribed with the dedication by Chaeredemos

and give the additional information that the statue was made by Strongylion. They are the front part of a base made of six blocks (two others were found near the Parthenon) that measured 3.52 m. \times ca. 5.20 m. The reference in Aristophanes in the *Birds* 1128 to the "big Wooden Horse" was apparently to something everyone knew about, either an old landmark or a recent novelty.

Another inscribed base with the names of the famous sculptors Kritias and Nesiotes was dedicated by Epicharinos who practised running in armour.

More interesting for our purpose than inscribed bases belonging to statues known only by report, are such subjects as Athene and Marsyas and Theseus and the Minotaur familiar from many representations in art. Pausanias calls the group he saw "Athene striking Marsyas" but the extant representations agree in showing the protagonists as springing away from each other with, in some instances, the double flutes falling between them. The sinewy figure of Marsyas shown in relief on a marble vase in the National Museum in Athens is more finely-represented in the statue known as Marsyas in the Lateran Museum whose style reflects, in a good Roman copy, that of Myron who is said by Pliny to have made "Minerva and the Satyr wondering at the pipes".

The contest of Theseus against the Minotaur occurs very frequently on vase-paintings and coins and this famous group would doubtless often have been copied. Two fragmentary figures of more than life size from a group of Theseus and the Minotaur found near the Tower of the Winds and now in the National Museum may be one of the Roman replicas.¹⁴

Many other statues, including a large bronze bull set up by the Areopagus, must have stood to the west or north of the Parthenon and much ingenuity has been used in trying to determine their places from suitable cuttings in the rock, but after a brief digression on the mysterious temple that Pausanias mentions on his way to Gé we shall pass on to another definite landmark, the inscription of Gé (Earth) praying for rain.

In speaking of the extreme religious zeal of the Athenians he says that they were the first to give Athens the name of Ergane (the Worker) and to make incomplete figures of Hermes (generally called "Herms") and that in the temple with them was a Daimon Spoudaios (Fortune of the Zealous). This has led some to think he was referring to a temple of Athene Ergane, but there is no evidence for one, though several dedicatory inscriptions to Athene Ergane have been found on the Acropolis.

The figure of Earth praying for rain must have been near the inscription "Of Earth the fruitbearer according to the oracle" which is cut in the living rock 9 m. north of the seventh column from the west on the north side of the Parthenon. Close by stood the statues of Konon,

son of Timotheos and of Timotheos, son of Konon, whose names are inscribed on the face of two curved blocks of a base, another piece of which lies near at hand.

The next groups were Procne and Itys, said by Pausanias to have been dedicated (and presumably made) by Alkamenes and identified by Michaelis with a matronly figure of a woman with a naked boy pressed against her knee, now in the Acropolis Museum, and Athene and Poseidon exhibiting the olive and the sea, who probably were shown in a quiet voting contest rather than in the spirited fashion of the west pediment, as several examples of both types are in existence.¹⁴

Just before entering the Parthenon Pausanias mentions two statues of Zeus, one by Leochares and the other called Zeus Polieus, whose ritual he then describes (cf. *ante*, p. 146). Two types of Zeus on the Athenian coins, one with his left hand extended quietly over an altar and one hurling the thunderbolt, have been respectively identified as that of Leochares and as Zeus Polieus. The heroic bronze statue found in the sea off Cape Artemision and now in the National Museum at Athens is thought by many to represent Zeus Polieus with his thunderbolt, while others identify him with Poseidon brandishing his trident.¹⁵

The Parthenon does not delay Pausanias long; he notes the subjects of both pediments and describes the Athene Parthenos and says there is only one statue there (presumably inside), that of the Emperor Hadrian. As he comes out he says that at the entrance is the statue of Iphikrates who did many remarkable deeds. From other sources we learn that it was a bronze statue set up in 372/1 B.C., and the cuttings in the rock indicate that it might have stood on either side of the steps up to the Parthenon.

We know there were some large monuments on the Acropolis which Pausanias might have seen but passes by. One of them would have stood at the northeast corner of the Parthenon, where the rock has been levelled for the base of a quadriga of about the same size as that on the monument of Agrippa. A block of Pentelic marble used as a lining of the west door of the Parthenon when it was a church bears the name of a certain Pronapes who dedicated the monument to commemorate at least three victories in the chariot races. From sinkings for the front hoofs of two bronze horses and traces of one hind foot on the top of the block the appearance of the group can be confidently restored.

Another monument passed by in silence was the Temple of Rome and Augustus whose foundations are *ca.* 25 m. east of the Parthenon. It was a small circular building 7.15 m. in diameter surrounded by a colonnade of nine Ionic columns 6.30 m. in height, and had on the architrave an inscription dedicating it to Rome and Augustus, that is to say after 27 B.C. when he adopted the title.¹⁷

Among the many other statues of gods and of men, two of special

historical interest were those of Perikles son of Xanthippos and of Xanthippos himself who fought in the battle of Mykale. We have already spoken of the Perikles which stood east of the Propylaea, but Xanthippos has recently become better known than he used to be because of the ostraka found with his name inscribed on them.

Near the south wall of the Acropolis were the well-known offerings of Attalos I that represented battles against the Giants, Amazons, Persians and Gauls. There are many copies in European museums. Since Plutarch tells us that the figure of Dionysos in one of the groups was blown down by a hurricane into the Theatre below, we infer that the originals were of bronze. The copies, in Asiatic marble, agree in size, subject and style (Pergamene) with the statements about them.¹⁸

Pausanias now decides not to describe too many statues and passes on to the seated figure of Athene made by Endoios and dedicated by Kallias. Two inscriptions with the name of Endoios found on the Acropolis belong to the late sixth century and an archaic seated statue of Athene clad in a close-fitting chiton and wearing the aegis, now in the Acropolis Museum (No. 625), has been conjecturally identified with the statue mentioned by Pausanias.

He next visits the Erechtheion and its adjacent *temene*, speaks of a number of statues known chiefly from coins, mentions the Athene Promachos, the Great Bronze Chariot, the Perikles and the Lemnian Athene and then leaves the Acropolis.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Area West of the Acropolis, the Areopagus, the Pnyx

THE circuit made before ascending the Acropolis by its western entrance included a discussion of the north, east and south slopes (Chapters X–XIII) and it remains to consider what was found to the northwest and west.

The hills west of the Acropolis are the Areopagus connected with it by a low saddle and the Pnyx group which includes from north to south the Hill of the Nymphs, the Pnyx proper and the Hill of the Muses on which now stands the monument of Philopappos. The Areopagus extends northwest and forms more or less of a barrier between the districts to north and south so that the area south of the Areopagus and west of the Acropolis apparently had a somewhat different history from that at the north which included the Agora and its southern extension. Communication between north and south was by means of a relatively narrow passageway between them which is traversed by the western branch of the road that passes along the west side of the Agora and extends southwards. The residential section of houses, shops, foundries, etc., noted before (pp. 31, 82) in the district south of the Agora apparently continued along the road throughout its length, as the excavations made by the Germans at the close of the nineteenth century have revealed few large buildings of a public nature.

We have already spoken at some length about the early remains on the north and west slopes of the Areopagus which belonged to the Late Helladic, Protogeometric and Geometric periods and have noted the antiquity of some of the traditions connected with the Hill. The first case tried before the Court of the Areopagus was that of Ares for the murder of Halirrhothios, the most famous that of Orestes for the murder of Klytemnaistra when the intervention of Athene saved him from the avenging Erinyes who then became the Semnai or Revered Ones with a sanctuary in the rocky side of the Areopagus (p. 31). The literary evidence about the activities on the Areopagus, both religious and political, are more plentiful than the actual remains. The court met in the open air and there are few cuttings on the rocky summit that can ever have been associated with ancient buildings, but the religious associations continued strong, St. Paul preached there to the Athenians and the chapel of his first convert St. Dionysios was on the northern side of the hill.¹

The west slope of the Acropolis has never been thoroughly excavated. The trenches of the German excavations uncovered many house-walls

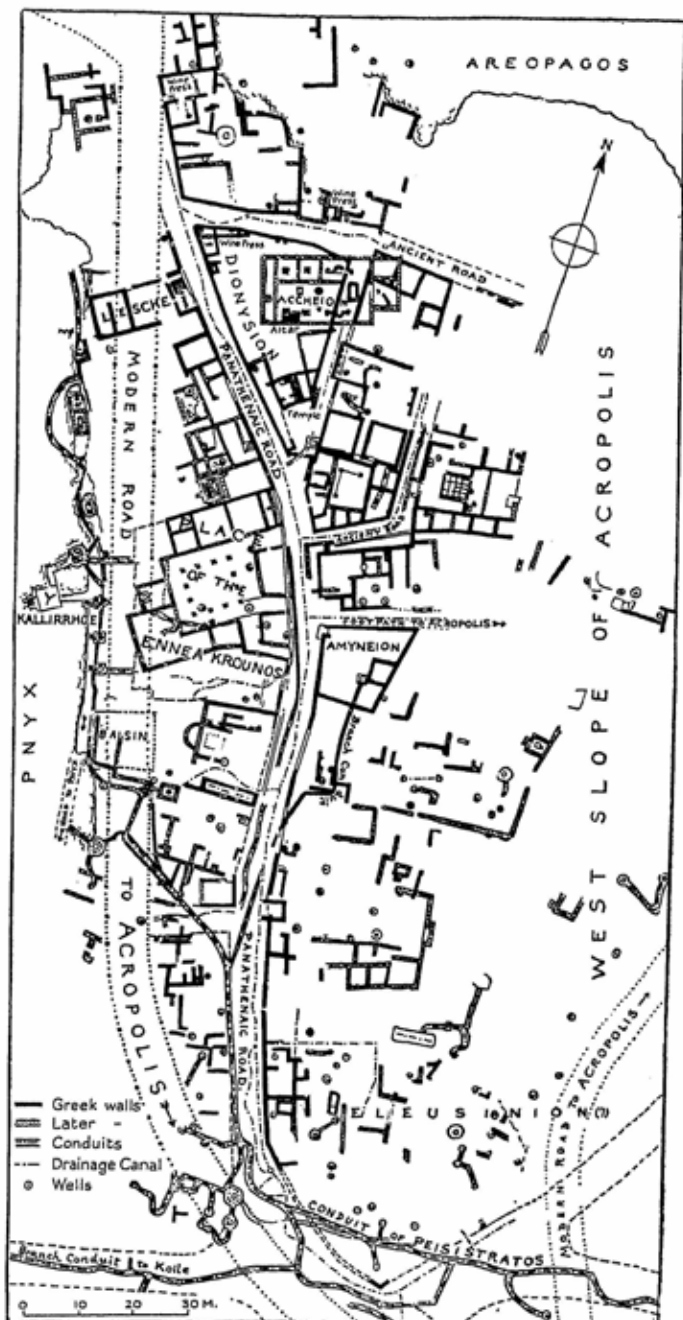


Fig. 30. Area West of the Acropolis

and some cross-streets leading to the Acropolis from the principal road below, but few remains of earlier date than about the sixth century were recorded. Not much was known at the time of the excavations about the development and dating of the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age and some valuable material was probably overlooked. There is brief incidental mention of two or three Mycenaean vases (Late Helladic III?) and a number of Geometric sherds and an occasional grave, but only enough to indicate that this area was inhabited from early days. By the sixth century when the important water-works of Peisistratos were constructed on the west and south sides of the Acropolis, the Agora to the northwest had already become a centre of public life as a part of the spread of the city in that direction.

Dr. Dörpfeld was convinced that the oldest Agora should for reasons of a topographical nature and general accessibility lie to the west of the Acropolis, and even the failure to discover any considerable remains as early as those from the north and northwest districts did nothing to change his view. A very full presentation of the result of the German excavations will be found in Miss Harrison's *Primitive Athens* and as no further researches have taken place there, they need be only briefly summarised.

The road from the Agora running west of the Areopagus was identified by Dörpfeld as the Panathenaic Way, since he believed what we now know to have been the Panathenaic Way was too steep for processions. The road was cleared for some 250 m. and is *ca.* 4 m. broad; it has a water channel of terracotta and is bordered by walls of good polygonal masonry standing three courses high in a few places. Most of the remains along its course probably belong to houses. The two principal enclosed areas have been identified as the Dionysion and the Amyneion (the sanctuary of the Blameless One).

The former is a triangular precinct of *ca.* 500 square metres bounded on the west by the broad road, on the east by a fork leading from it towards the Areopagus and on the north by a street connecting the two. It is enclosed by a wall made of good polygonal masonry in its two lower courses and of poorer masonry above. No entrance gate has been found and access apparently was at the south end of the east wall. In this corner which is separated from the rest of the precinct by a cross-wall with a small gate at its western end are the foundations of a temple 3.96 m. by 3.40 m. with polygonal walls of limestone which was thought by Dörpfeld to be the oldest temple to Dionysos in Athens. He believed that the ancient traditions of the place were preserved in a good-sized Roman building farther north and at a considerably higher level which is identified as a Baccheion by a long inscription of the third century A.D. with the rules of a *thiasos* or club called the Iobacchoi and an altar decorated with Dionysiac scenes. Exactly in the northwest corner of the enclosure is a wine press of familiar type

which had been rebuilt more than once. The present level of its floor is lower than the Baccheion and the earlier floor below is on the level of a fourth-century building on the opposite side of the road. The small temple, the Baccheion, the wine press and a poros base 3.10 m. square with holes for the legs of a table-shaped altar and two cuttings for stelai were Dörpfeld's reasons for believing this was the sanctuary of Dionysos in the Marshes.

About 35 m. farther along the road is a second temenos of quadrangular shape bounded on the north by an ancient footway to the Acropolis and enclosed by a good polygonal wall. The entrance was at the northwest corner and near the centre of the precinct was a well whose supply was augmented by a conduit pipe leading in from the Peisistratean aqueduct. A small building east of the well contained the lower part of a marble sacrificial table decorated with two snakes and in the enclosure were found many fragments of votive offerings representing different parts of the human body such as are dedicated to a healing deity of the Asklepios type. The great sanctuary of Asklepios was on the south side of the Acropolis and this was probably one of many smaller shrines belonging to lesser powers sharing some of his functions. The name Amynos occurs in two inscriptions here, once as an epithet of Asklepios and once as the name of a separate individual associated with him.

Opposite the wine press was a fourth-century building with one end backed up against the Pnyx and identified by two boundary stones as the "Lesche" or club house built above an earlier small shrine and altar of the sixth century. South of this the road appears to have been flanked by private houses until the large open place of the fountain is reached.²

We have often had occasion to speak of the great water-system of Peisistratos which in this district is represented by the conduit that passes south of the Acropolis, gives off a branch for the Koilé neighbourhood, turns north along the west side of the ancient road and then west of the modern one under the rocks of the Pnyx where many of its offshoots, cisterns and wells have been found. One of the most important of these is a rock-cut chamber *ca.* 4 m. square reached by steps leading down westward from the modern road. Opposite the entrance is a narrow niche 1.80 m. deep with a well sunk 2 m. down into it. A channel along the south side of the chamber probably at first collected the water that oozed through the roof but served later as a conduit for the Peisistratean pipes. A right-angled passage north of the chamber led by steps to a large oval cistern from which a channel went to another fountain lower down.

Opposite the rock chamber and west of the ancient road was a large Roman villa with no Greek walls underneath it and the site was probably originally a spacious open plateia measuring 20 m. \times 40 m.

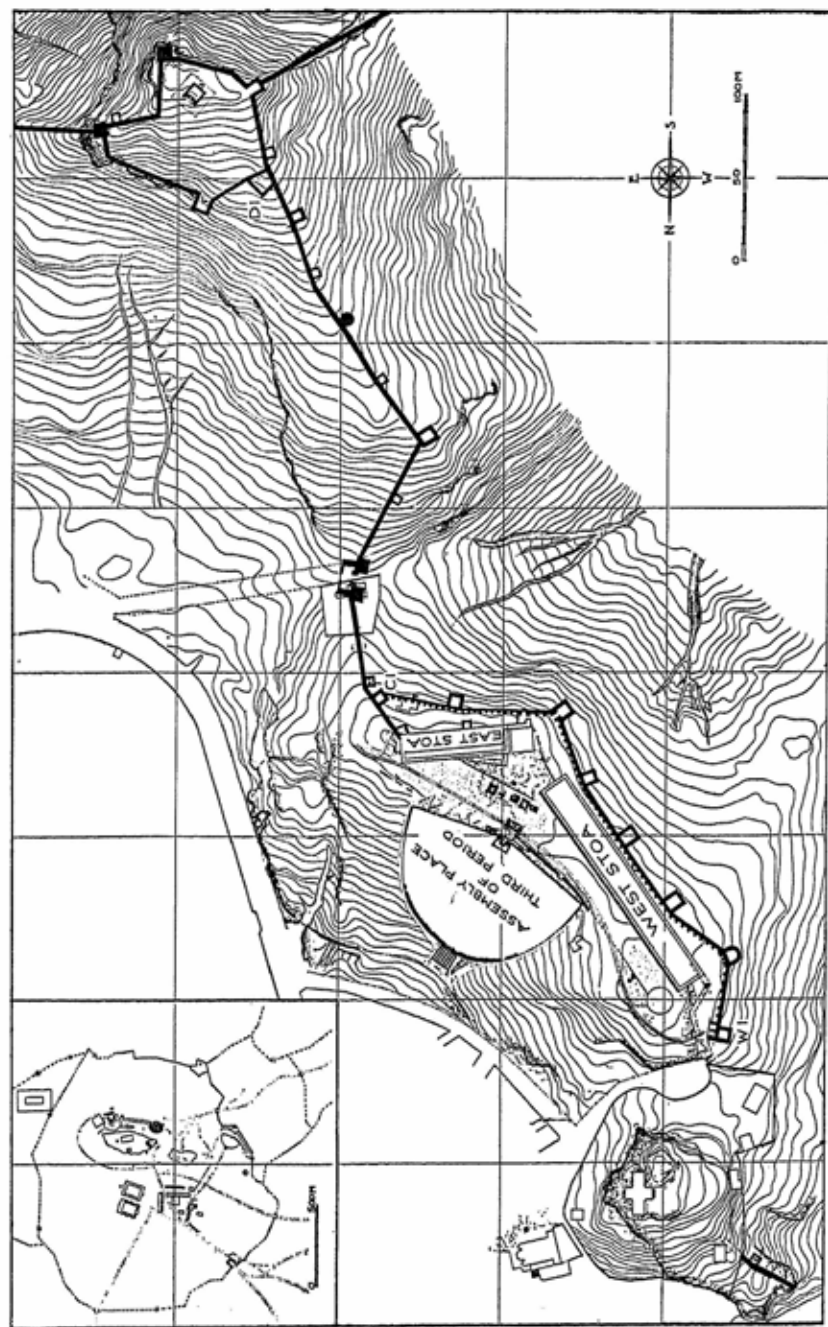


Fig. 31. The Pnyx and Mouseion Hills

towards which the several roads from the Acropolis converged and to which people went to obtain water.

Nothing remains of an early fountain except a poros block measuring 1.64 m. \times 0.95 m. \times 0.24 m. which is deeply grooved from wear by the rope used to draw water. Its upper surface is cut for a Z-shaped clamp of the style of the sixth century B.C. Sherds of sixth-century pottery found here help confirm this date.

One broken limestone block hollowed for the insertion of a bronze lion's head and with a hole for the water pipe that fed it, can be identified as part of a fountain of a type illustrated on many Black-Figured hydriai showing a façade of Doric columns with lions' heads spouts between them from which women with their jugs are drawing water.

The actual remains here are the conduit of Peisistratos, the rock chamber, the worn stone, the lion-hole stone and a large open square centrally situated, at one side of which was presumably a fountain house. It has been identified by Dörpfeld as the "Nine Spouts" (Enneakrounos) built by Peisistratos as successor to the spring Kallirrhoe.

One of the famous controversies of the past half-century was known as the "Enneakrounos episode" in which an attempt was made to determine the site of the fountain. According to Thucydides, Kallirrhoe-Enneakrounos was in southeast Athens in the bed of the Ilissos below the terrace of the Temple of Olympian Zeus at a place where until recent times the old name was preserved and the women of Athens took their washing. According to Pausanias the Enneakrounos was in the market-place near the Odeion (cf. p. 62). Kallirrhoe and Mavromati are the most common names throughout Greece for a good spring and we need hardly believe that there was only one of the former in Athens. As for the actual remains in the western hollow, the rock chamber has a very small flow, not enough for the principal public fountain, and the aqueduct and numerous wells and cisterns in this district are a proof that water had to be brought from other sources.³

From the fountain house in the eastern rocks of the Pnyx the water channel ran round the northeast shoulder of the hill, past many cuttings for houses, to the hollow between the Hill of the Nymphs and the Pnyx where the modern road up to the Observatory follows about the same obvious line as the ancient one. On the south the great semi-circular terrace wall and its diameter formed by the scarped face of the rock with terrace and bema are the most conspicuous monuments in the vicinity.

Several trial excavations had been made earlier, but in order to determine the number of building periods, their dates and the form of auditorium belonging to each a number of trenches were cut on the radii and the stratification in each one was studied in the years 1930-1931.

From the flattish top of the Pnyx the rock slopes gently down from south to north, forming a natural amphitheatre shaped like half of a shallow saucer, which was doubtless used as a meeting place before any artificial auditorium was built. There were three periods of construction, in all of which the theatral shape was preserved. In the first, dating from about 500 B.C., the cavea faced north and the bema south, looking towards the sea; in the second and third periods the arrangement was reversed, with cavea facing south and bema north. According to Plutarch (*Them.* 19. 4) the change to looking inland was made by the Thirty Tyrants because they thought maritime empire was the mother of democracy, and that oligarchy was less distasteful to tillers of the soil, but whether their reason was political or based on the fact that the relatively light terrace wall proved inadequate it is impossible to guess.

The visible remains of the curved supporting wall and the scarped face and terrace below with the bema belong to the third period, but the rock surface farther north had been dressed to form the arc of a shallow circle opening towards the north and sloping from the sides towards the centre. The well worn surface must have belonged to the earliest period and was buried under the earth in the succeeding ones. A few blocks found *in situ* in the trenches indicate the circumference but no more than a single course is preserved at any point. Cuttings in the rock farther down the slope probably served as beddings for a stone retaining wall. A wall *ca.* 2 m. high at the centre of the front of the auditorium would provide a level terrace some 7 m. wide from which an earth covered slope could rise gradually to the surface of the rock above. The speaker's platform would have been near the centre of the retaining wall on the terrace and the audience apparently was provided with nothing better than the rock itself, which shows no signs of having been prepared to support benches. Doubtless those who wanted more comfort carried cushions with them. The entrance must have been from the east, as there are no traces of a stairway from the north; the west and south sides are too remote from the centre of the city and the natural approach to the Pnyx has always been from the northeast shoulder.

The exact dating of this period cannot be determined, since the style of masonry might belong anywhere from the seventh to the fifth centuries and there is no ceramic evidence, but a date of about 500 B.C. seems probable for historical reasons and we may regard this early assembly place as the scene of the oratorical triumphs of most of that century.

For the second period with its right-about face, the principal remains belong to the new retaining wall about midway between that of Period I and the impressive wall of Period III. A stretch of stepped wall with a slight batter and the eastern stairway are to be seen in the open trench. A good many of the blocks survived from Period I, others

were quarried from the limestone rock above. There is no positive evidence for the height of the wall, but an earthen embankment probably stood on it, since much filling in would be necessary to raise the outer edge of the auditorium higher than the speaker. The bema probably was somewhat farther north in this period than in the following one.

The stairway, of which the seven lowest treads are *in situ*, projects *ca.* 3.50 m. from the bottom of the wall and was 4 m. wide. The stairs proper are supported by end walls and behind them is a filling of broken rock and red earth with almost no potsherds or other artificial objects. Though no stairway has been found in a corresponding position west of the central axis, it is reasonable to believe that there was one.

The scanty remains of pottery found near the wall and stairway belong to the end of the fifth century, a date which agrees well with the time of the Thirty Tyrants (404/3 B.C.) as the period of reconstruction. The workmanship in Period II, is careless and shoddy and it is small wonder that the whole auditorium had to be rebuilt.⁴

In the first publication of the excavations it was suggested that the third period might belong to the time of Hadrian, since the masonry of the great retaining wall was so similar to that used in some of his buildings, but further investigations showed that the enlarged auditorium was part of a unified plan for reconstruction on the Pnyx that included a broad terrace with stoas upon it above the assembly place. The architectural evidence points to the second half of the fourth century B.C. and a grandiose plan of this nature might well be attributed to Lykourgos, the best-known statesman of his century for his interest in public buildings.

The scarp at the south and the semi-circular retaining wall at the north are the outstanding remains of the great auditorium of this period. The base-line, which was cut by means of deep trenches whose southern wall forms the scarp, consisted of two sections making an obtuse angle of *ca.* 158° behind the bema. A line joining the east and west extremities of the scarp gives a diameter of 119 m. for the auditorium. At these extremities the scarp continues northwards roughly in line with the circumference for *ca.* 18 m. North of the trenches the rocky area was levelled off and the material used for the retaining wall. The edges of the outer faces of the blocks were bevelled, giving a heavy, rusticated effect. The sloping nature of the rock made a difficult problem but the bedding is generally level and the jointing excellent. The average size of the blocks in the top course is 2.40 m. × 1.90 m. × 1.50 m. or more. Three of the largest are 2.80 m., 2.90 m. and 3.60 m. long.

The filling behind this wall was composed of large blocks split or broken in quarrying, quarry chips as big as a man's fist, black or grey

earth, small pebbles and some 150 baskets of potsherds. Only two Geometric and six Black-Figured sherds were found, the majority were Red-Figured of about 400 B.C., glazed black pottery of the fourth century, a few Hellenistic examples and three fragments of Arretine bowls.

The most reasonable reconstruction for the auditorium would provide for a floor rising outward from the bema, and though some hypothetical reconstructions have a supporting wall entirely of stone, the evidence for more than four courses is lacking and it is more probable that there was an earth embankment in this period as well as in the previous one. This large auditorium accommodating some 10,000 people would need a *diazoma*, probably to be approached from the south by steps cut in the western part of the scarp to lead down from the terrace above. The cavea was presumably divided also into wedges for easier access but no evidence for seats of any kind has been found.

The site of the great north entrance may be determined by beddings *ca.* 0.80 m. broad and 13 m. long, spaced at intervals of *ca.* 2 m. to make a total width of 11.40 m. for seven parallel walls at right angles to the circuit wall at its highest point almost in the axis of the bema. Across the outer ends of the beddings is a cutting 2.30 m. wide at its west end and slightly narrower at the east, and other cuttings of suitable size make it possible to reconstruct a broad stairway leading up to the Assembly Place.

The familiar landmark of the bema stands in the angle left between the two wings of the scarp. It consists of two parts, a large platform reached by three steps with a combined height of 1.04 m. and a cube of native rock attached to the scarp at the south and surrounded at its base by a border of living rock 0.48 m. high and of equal width. On the east and west sides five steps lead up to the top of the cube which is 3 m. high and slopes down towards the north, where it has a vertical face. Its small area, inclined surface, lack of provision for railings and unfinished east stairway, as well as the existence of a good platform below, make it unlikely that it can ever have been meant for speakers. It must have been fairly well concealed by *stelai* for which there are four cuttings in the stone border in front. On the terrace platform are many other cuttings that may have been for *stelai*, herms, tables, etc., and six rectangular beddings probably supported the posts of a railing dividing the platform from the assembly place.

In the face of the scarp east of the bema are some 58 rectangular niches intended for votive offerings and varying in height from 0.07 m. to 0.48 m., except for a large central one 2.38 m. \times 1.10 m. \times 0.38 m. which must have been intended for a cult statue. The others had votive tablets representing parts of the human body, such as breasts, eyes, feet, etc., in relief and bore dedicatory inscriptions to Zeus Hypsistos, apparently worshipped here as a healing god to whom thank

offerings similar to those generally found in sanctuaries of Asklepios were appropriate.

On the terrace above the bema and centred on its axis is a rectangular foundation-bedding measuring 8.90 m. \times 6 m. cut in the rock with an "island" left near its northeast side. The passageway between this area and the bema is flanked to east and west by three ranges of rock-cut benches, the lowest of which is separated from the scarp by a passage about 1 m. broad continuing the corridor between the auditorium and the supporting wall of the west terrace. The area may have been the site of a monumental altar facing the auditorium and accessible from the bema for sacrifices visible to all.

South of the scarp the rock has been levelled off for large terraces, known respectively as the Middle, West and East Terraces. The west terrace is partly cut in the rock and partly supported by a massive wall of which two or three blocks are *in situ*. On this terrace are the remains of a stoa 148.015 m. long and 17.86 m. wide which runs in a northeast-southwest direction and may be restored with a façade of 54 Doric columns between antae but can have progressed no farther than the foundations, since not a trace of the superstructure has been found. The decision to utilise part of its foundations in a section of the City Wall across the Pnyx seems to have been the reason for going no farther.

On the same terrace was a bedding for a large base round a core of native rock which may perhaps be identified as the site of the heliotropion or sun-dial said by Philochoros to have been placed by the astronomer Meton in the assembly place on the Pnyx.⁵

The City Wall also ran on top of the foundations of another large stoa on the east terrace, which measured 65.80 m. by 16.50 m. and may be restored with 22 Doric columns *in antis* on the façade. The foundations of this stoa (known as East Stoa B) were built above those of another (East Stoa A) of the same length but only 14.625 m. in width, orientated *ca.* 12 degrees farther towards the northeast. The width of the beddings at front and ends suggests that it, like the West Stoa, was to have had a gutter.

There seems no obvious reason for the change in orientation, for in neither case is it consistent with the West Stoa, and the difference in levels between the West and East terraces, the latter of which is considerably more than 2 m. higher and scarped on its northern face, also made a really symmetrical effect from east to west impossible.

That there was to be an important entrance from the south to the middle terrace seems indicated by the remains of a large foundation *ca.* 13 m. from east to west by 17.50 m. from north to south directly west of East Stoa B with whose façade the north front of the foundation was aligned. Only one small limestone piece and about half a dozen large conglomerate blocks belonging to it have been found. The most

obvious restoration is for a propylon with floor at the same level as the terrace in front of the East Stoa and steps to the slightly lower level at the north.

Although some parts of the city walls on the Pnyx range have been known for many years, their complete course extending from the north-west spur of the Hill of the Nymphs to the top of the Mouseion Hill, along the western slope of the crest of the triple range for a distance of nearly a kilometre was not determined until the 1930's.

The wall follows the natural configuration of the ground across the low saddles joining each hill to its neighbour. In each there was a gate through which passed roads linking the Agora-Acropolis region to the western quarters of the city. The line of the wall cut off a considerable area included within the Themistoklean wall that swept out in a curve farther west on the lower ground. The large number of graves found in the space between the two walls shows that the slope westward from the Pnyx can no longer have been included within the limits of the city. At the top of the Mouseion Hill this wall terminates against the Themistoklean which came up the southwest side of the hill and encircled it on its southern side.

The wall was of the usual type with two faces enclosing a fill of rubble and earth and had an average width of 3 m. The faces had orthostates of coarse conglomerate 1.35 m. long by 0.65 m. high by 0.45 m. thick, arranged with two stretchers alternating with one header which met a similar one coming from the other face and divided the interior into compartments. There is no indication of how many stone courses there were, but the upper part undoubtedly was of brick. This is known as the Compartment Wall and is probably to be identified as the *diateichisma* or "Cross Wall" formerly attributed to Kleon but now known to be of later date.

Twenty-three towers, besides D 1 and D 2 which are part of the Mouseion Fortress described below, have been identified along the course of the wall. Sixteen (C 1-7, M 1-9) belonged to the original circuit wall from Pnyx to Mouseion (some had been rebuilt) and seven (W 1-7) to the stretch of wall on the Pnyx hill which was built in the following period. In both periods the towers were usually rectangular and varied from 8 m. square to 11 m. \times 10 m., but one round tower may be assigned to each period. The construction of the towers was generally similar to that of the wall, with the lowest visible course made of orthostates. The average interval between the towers on the Mouseion Hill is 75-80 m. and on the Pnyx about 40 m.

Midway between square tower C 6 and the junction with the Themistoklean wall a cross-wall ran over to the east brow of the Mouseion Hill to form the city side of what is known as the Mouseion Fort and at the angle where it leaves the Compartment Wall was the large tower D 1. The line of the cross-wall may be traced chiefly by

cuttings in the rock as far as tower D 2 which was excavated by Skias in 1898. Its foundations and parts of a lower course of flat blocks making a platform and a second course of orthostates similar to those in the Compartment Wall are left. From here the wall continues in a southeast direction for *ca.* 60 m. and then almost due south for 15 m. to join the Themistoklean wall at the point marked by the large tower T1.

The southern gate through the wall is sufficiently well preserved to permit reconstruction on paper, but practically no trace remains of the northern one because of the many changes undergone by this section of the town. The hollow between the Hill of the Nymphs and the Pnyx has been deeply dug for quarries, the quarter has been occupied by houses from ancient days until the present, the area on the Nymphs' Hill now is part of the National Observatory and its park, so that further excavations are not practicable. But though virtually no remains of the gate can be identified, at least the course of the ancient road is clear and shows the marks of wheel ruts.

For an idea of what the gate might have been like, we must turn to its opposite number on the south side in the saddle between Pnyx and Mouseion where the church of St. Demetrios now stands and covers the northern half of it. The southern half was carefully excavated and is now filled in again. In its original form the gate consisted of two large towers in the line of the wall flanking the entrance to a court made by heavy spur-walls on the north and south and leading to a lighter inner cross-wall with a gate approximately 3.90 m. wide. The southern front tower, C 3, was 8 m. square; the spur wall was about 3 m. thick and projected inwards *ca.* 6.94 m., then it returned at right angles for 5.15 m. across the inner end of the court with a thickness of only 1.25 m. The corresponding north wall could be excavated only at the end of the inner cross-wall. A stone 0.45 m. square, perhaps to support a door stop, lay in the centre of the opening.

The structure may be identified as the "Dipylon above the Gates" and through it passed the ancient road which soon divided into one branch along the northwest slopes of the Mouseion Hill to the Melitaeen Gate, and another lower down in the gully leading westward where deep ruts, a rock-cut channel and a continuous bedding for a kerb are still visible and point to it as one of the most important of ancient thoroughfares between Athens and the Piraeus.⁶

This completes a description of the most obvious and visible remains of the earliest (Compartment) wall and we must return to the Pnyx where its course has been so largely obliterated by the wall that succeeded it.

The line followed for the most part the foundations of the West and East Stoa along the respective brows of the hill. The best surviving piece on the Pnyx is at the extreme east end of East Stoa B. At this

point the wall turned first in a southeast direction and then nearly due south to the Dipylon Gate.

The Compartment Wall may be safely dated in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. and presumably took some fifteen years to build, since the Mouseion Fort—apparently constructed by Demetrios Poliorketes in 294 B.C.—is closely connected with it. The Fort was captured and partly destroyed by the Macedonians in 288 B.C., recovered, then taken again by the Macedonians and returned to the Athenians in 256 B.C. Thereafter its history is unknown.

The plentiful remains of dwelling houses on the Pnyx indicate that the section of the wall here was abandoned or neglected. By the close of the third century, after the disastrous Macedonian wars and eventual liberation of Athens a new period of building activity began on the wall.

For the most part it consisted chiefly of making repairs, except for a section on the Pnyx hill which was entirely reconstructed on a different line following the edge of the western brow more closely and making use of a white poros for its construction. The second building period is consequently known as that of the White Poros Wall.

It was *ca.* 2 m. thick, of ashlar blocks measuring 1.35 m. \times 0.65 m. \times 0.45–50 m., in alternate courses of headers and stretchers forming practically solid masonry. The blocks in the lower courses were bevelled *ca.* 0.04 m. on all edges and had a drafted band 0.10 m. at the bottom and two sides. The boss in the centre was roughened by a chisel and left in a fairly flat plane. On the inner side buttresses *ca.* 1.35 m. square were placed at intervals of *ca.* 4.60 m.

At the north end of the wall, immediately adjacent to where there probably was a gate as in the time of the Compartment Wall, was tower W 1, which measured 9.30 m. on its western face and projected southwards 6.60 m. from the wall. On the rear face of the tower *ca.* 3.30 m. distant from the wall to the gate and at a point about 3.40 m. farther south buttresses 1.35 m. thick extended inwards *ca.* 4 m. forming the side walls of guard rooms.

The stretch of wall along the west spur terminated at a huge tower (W 2) 11 m. broad with short straight side walls, rounded front projecting *ca.* 9 m. and walls 2.50 m. thick at the base. Three buttresses slightly shorter than those at tower W 1 supported the back of W 2.

Thence the wall runs southeast for *ca.* 40 m. where it turns slightly more to the south. In the angle is rectangular tower W 3, and two others are placed at intervals of *ca.* 40 m. From the southwest corner of the hill guarded by tower W 6 the wall ran eastward with W 7 placed about midway along it until it joined the Compartment Wall at tower C 1.

About 18 m. east of W 6 was a small postern gate, now covered up, and from that point very little of the wall is visible, but beddings and levellings suggest that it was less thick here, perhaps because the slope of the hill was steeper.

At the Dipylon Gate of this wall the principal entrance between the towers was reduced to approximately the width of the east gate of the original Dipylon by building buttresses against the inner corners of the towers and adding poros blocks for the door jambs. The surviving block has three cuttings for jambs and one for a pivot in the upper surface. An iron pivot and some nails and studs for a heavy wooden door were found here.

By the first century A.D. the inner gate and the buttresses had been abandoned and the entrance between the large towers of the circuit wall narrowed. The scanty remains suggest a square tower in the middle of the gateway with passages on either side but do not permit a certain restoration.⁷

Before leaving the Mouseion Hill we must describe its most conspicuous feature, the Monument of Philopappos which stands upon its summit facing northeast towards the Acropolis.

About two-thirds of the façade remains, built of Pentelic marble on a platform of poros. The original length of the chord of the slightly concave wall which extended between Corinthian pilasters was ca. 9.50 m. It had two storeys divided by a cornice, the lower one 3.50 m. high with three reliefs representing the deceased in his consular chariot preceded by lictors and the upper one 6.50 m. high topped by a cornice resting on a smooth Corinthian pilaster at each end. Two other pilasters separated three niches in the wall of the façade which were intended for seated statues still in position though headless and otherwise damaged. The side niches (of which only the southern one is preserved) were rectangles 2.11 m. high by 1.20 m. broad, the central niche was semi-circular with rounded top and measured 3 m. in height and 1.90 m. in breadth.

Under the statues were Greek inscriptions giving the names of the persons represented. In the centre is "Philopappos of Besa, son of Epiphanes"; to the spectator's left "King Antiochus, son of King Antiochus". The whole right hand side of the monument is gone, but the inscription read "King Seleucus Nicator, son of Antiochus".

There were also inscriptions on each of the Corinthian pilasters next the central niche. That to the left was in Latin and read "C. Julius C. f(i)lius Antiochus Philopappus, co(n)s(ul), frater arvalis, allectus inter praeforios ab Imp(eratore) Caesare Nerva Traiano Optumo Augusto Germanico Dacico" (i.e. 114-116 A.D.). On that to the right (now gone but seen by Cyriacus of Ancona in 1436 or 1447 when the monument was complete), in Greek "King Antiochus Philopappos, son of King Epiphanes, son of Antiochus".

Thus the monument commemorates Philopappos in his three capacities, as descendant of the Kings of Commagene, as a Roman citizen and consul and as a citizen of Athens. Though his grandfather Antiochus IV was the last king to reign, Philopappos was allowed to retain the courtesy title of King. Behind the façade are traces of the large quadrangular mausoleum.⁸

CHAPTER XIX

Roman Athens

THERE has been incidental mention of some Roman remains on and around the Acropolis and in the Agora, notably the Odeion built by Agrippa and a broad paved street running east and west between the south end of the Stoa of Attalos and the Library of Pantainos (p. 65). By the time of Augustus the old Agora was too crowded to admit of further expansion and a large Roman Market Place was laid out a short distance to the east and reached by the broad road.

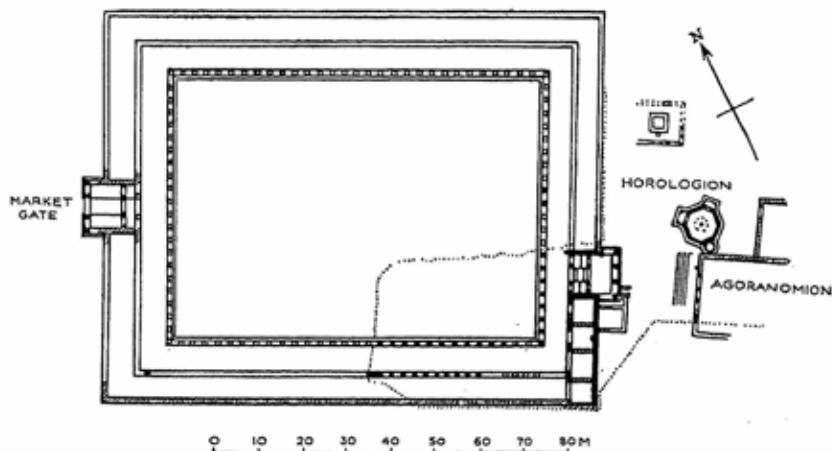


Fig. 32. The Roman Agora

The principal entrance to it was at the centre of its western side through propylaea (11.50 m. \times 13 m.) which consisted of the usual wall with three openings, faced by a rather deep portico of four Doric columns (7.87 m. \times 1.22 m.) to the west and a shallower portico of two Doric columns between antae to the east. The central passage, *ca.* 2.50 m. wide, served for carts and animals, the side ones, with a step at the entrance and a paved floor, for foot-passengers.

The west portico is surmounted by a Doric entablature and pediment. An inscription on the architrave says that the gate was erected by the people out of gifts made to them by Julius Caesar and the Emperor Augustus (*i.e.* after 27 B.C.) and dedicated to Athene Archegetis. A more definite date is made possible by the base of a statue of

Augustus's grandson Lucius Caesar, who was adopted in 12 B.C. and died in A.D. 2, which formerly stood above the pediment as an akroterion. On the south face of the extant jamb of the door is an inscription of Hadrian's time regulating the sale of oil, but the market to which it led was of a much more general character.¹

This area belongs to the Greek Archaeological Zone and further excavations are to be undertaken here in the future. Those made at the end of the nineteenth century uncovered the southeast corner of a large rectangle, ca. 112 m. \times 96 m. bounded by a poros wall consisting of a central area 82 m. \times 57 m. paved with marble and surrounded by a peristyle of unfluted Ionic columns 4.65 m. high by 0.67 m. in diameter resting on two steps with a poros water-channel in front. Fragments of the architrave with three bands on each face and of a cornice with lions' heads spouts make a restoration possible. The colonnade was 6.775 m. deep at the east and 6.75 m. at the south where it was double, with an internal colonnade separated from it by one step. This also had smooth columns, probably Doric since they had no bases, and some Doric capitals of suitable dimensions have been found near by. Although this colonnade was slightly less deep than the external one, all would have needed timber roofs for the span.

The colonnade was bounded on the east side by a row of shops measuring 4.75 m. \times 5.25 m., of which five have been cleared. Names of some of the merchant tenants are inscribed on columns or floor and measures of standard capacity are hollowed out in the pavement. Although only part of the south side has been excavated, there are remains of shops near the central part and divided from them by a narrow passage, probably with stairs leading up, is a paved room 2.75 m. square furnished with a parapet 0.95 m. high, which has been identified as a fountain.

Near the southeast corner on the east side of the Market was a propylon smaller than the western one. It has four Ionic columns to the east and two between antae to the west, and is not in the same axis as the Gate of Athene Archegetis nor is it exactly at right angles to the east wall of the Market.²

Directly east of the market enclosure is the Horologion of Andronicus of Cyrrhus, better known as the Tower of the Winds, mentioned by Varro in *De Re Rustica* (III 5, 17) published in 37 B.C. Vitruvius describes it as an octagonal tower of marble with a figure of one of the winds on each face. It had a low pyramidal roof of marble slabs surmounted by a bronze Triton who served as a weather-vane. The sides measure 2.80 m. each and at the northeast and northwest were rectangular porticoes (3 m. \times 1.9 m.) with two Corinthian columns, and at the south a nearly circular reservoir to which an aqueduct led from the north side of the Acropolis. The tower is surrounded by three

steps and the interior is paved with marble and bordered at three levels by cornices with small Doric columns in the angles of the uppermost cornice. There is a circular channel in the centre of the floor to serve the water-clock.

This is still one of the best preserved monuments of Athens, with winged figures of characteristically clothed and equipped winds moving from left to right in panels like a frieze round the upper part of the exterior and below them are marks for the sun-dials. In Stuart's time the tower was used by the dervishes for their dance known as the "Scma".³

South of the Tower of the Winds are two and a half large arches of Hymettos marble once thought to belong to an aqueduct leading from the Klepsydra, but now identified as part of a rectangular building some of whose substantial poros foundations are still in position.

The arches probably belonged to a loggia or colonnade opening towards the market. A dedication to Athene Archegetis and the *Sebastoi Theoi* is inscribed on the architrave. The building was apparently an important one connected with the east propylon by a paved area and steps leading up to it. Its identification as the Agoranomion or office of the Magistrates of the Market, seems probable, as a large arch of Hymettos marble similar to those mentioned above was found close by the Gate of Athene Archegetis and bears an inscription dedicating the Agoranomion to Antoninus Pius by the Boulé. Although the inscription is late in date, the building may have replaced an earlier one, since a number of inscriptions referring to the agoranomoi have been found in the market.⁴

About 30 m. north of the Augustan Market was another large structure (122 m. \times 82 m.) which was variously known as the Olympieion, the Stoa Poikile, the Pantheon or the Gymnasium of Hadrian until the excavations of 1885 made its identification as the Stoa and Library of Hadrian certain.

It was a huge rectangle surrounded by massive walls in the rusticated style characteristic of several of Hadrian's buildings in Athens. They were of poros, except for the marble west wall which is the best preserved and was always the principal façade. At its centre was the only entrance to the enclosure so far discovered, consisting of a simple propylon, measuring 12 m. \times 7 m. and approached by six steps, with four channelled Corinthian columns (0.914 m. \times 8.52 m.) of Pentelic marble in front that supported a pediment, antae at the ends of short spur-walls behind the columns and a door through the wall. On either side of the propylon were seven unfluted columns (the northern ones *in situ*) slightly detached from the wall behind them and supporting an architrave with two fascia, a frieze and a medillion cornice which returned over each column along the wall. They probably were intended for statues. Short spur-walls terminating in antae ended the

façade which was once surmounted by an attic. The columns were of cippolino (Karystos marble) with Pentelic capitals, and Pentelic was used also for the façade which was made of blocks with draughted borders resting on orthostates.

On each of the longer sides of the enclosure were three large exedrae, the central ones rectangular, the others semi-circular with a diameter of 9.80 m., divided from the central peristyle by two columns. Part of

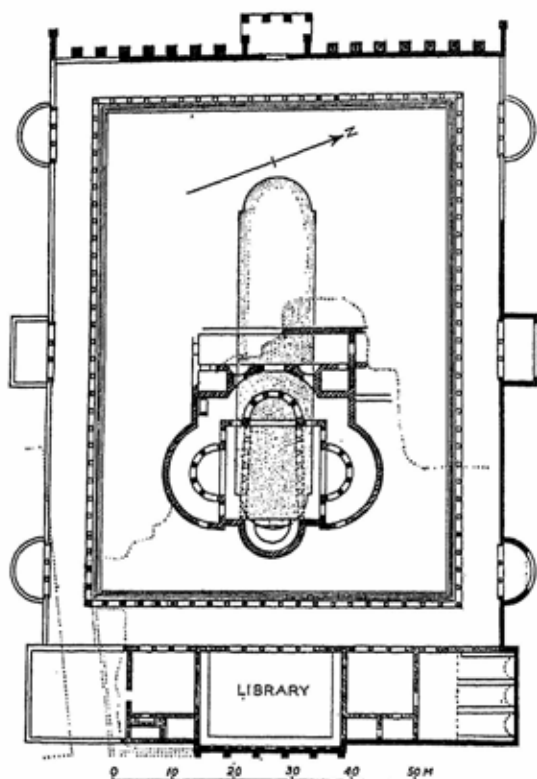


Fig. 33. The Stoa and Library of Hadrian

the north enclosure wall with its simple cornice is still visible in Pandrosos Street and part of the east wall topped by a string-course in Aiolos Street. The central portion of the east wall projects slightly and is supported by buttresses. It differs from the solid poros north wall in using concrete and triangular bricks for part of its inner construction.

Within the enclosure walls the central area—once roofed over and occupied by the Athenian Bazaar and partially excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society after its destruction by fire in 1885—

consisted of a large peristyle 81.75 m. \times 59.88 m. east of which was a group of rooms composing the Library.

The peristyle was a colonnade *ca.* 7.50 m. deep with Pentelic marble stylobate and one Pentelic step with a gutter and grating in front and one hundred columns *ca.* 6.10 m. \times 0.61 m. This leaves little doubt that it was the famous Stoa and Library of Hadrian adorned according to Pausanias with one hundred columns of Phrygian marble or pavonazzetto. Nothing is left of these, which were probably carried away by despoilers.

The centre of the peristyle was originally occupied by a long basin or pool, 58 m. \times 13 m., with rounded ends, surrounded by a garden. Later it was filled in and its east half was occupied by a large square building with semicircular exedrae on the north, south and west. Each exedra has four columns arranged as an inner concentric semicircle and is floored with tessellated mosaic pavement with geometric and floral designs, portions of which remain *in situ*. The east exedra is of smaller dimensions and without an inner colonnade.

The walls of the central square were built mostly of reused ashlar blocks of poros or Pentelic marble, the latter of which was used also for the arches in the walls and for the columns and architraves in the exedrae. The northeast angle of the building is the best preserved and stands to a height of nearly 3 m. All the other walls were of rubble with horizontal layers of brick inserted.

At the west end a long narrow vestibule, only partly excavated, was connected with the west exedra and also with small rooms on its north and south in two of which there are remains of stairs to an upper storey.⁶

This building may be dated early in the fifth century A.D., a century of great activity and reconstruction in repairing the ruin left by the sack of Athens in A.D. 267. The "Valerian Wall", part of which ran along the southern border of the Stoa of Hadrian accounted for many fragments of ruined buildings and the general appearance of Athens must have indeed been desolate until a revival began in the fifth century with the Gymnasiums in the Agora and the Academy, the reconstruction in the Theatre of Dionysos by Phaedrus and in the Stoa of Hadrian itself perhaps by Herkoulios whose name is inscribed on the anta of the principal entrance on the west façade.

With the prevalence of Christianity and the building of many churches in Athens later in the century the central building may have served as a church, but by the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century a basilica was constructed inside it. Since the eastern exedra is slightly narrower than the western, the rows of columns dividing the basilica into a nave and two aisles are not exactly parallel. The three easternmost columns and a stump of a fourth and the east anta of the south colonnade are still *in situ*. The size of the north and

south exedrae was reduced by replacing the inner semi-circle of columns by solid walls making smaller apses with two columns set on the diameters. The vestibule was transformed into a narthex.

The building continued in use presumably until the late eleventh or early twelfth century when apparently it was destroyed and replaced by a Byzantine church of much smaller dimensions which survived until the fire of 1884. This was the Megalé Panagia which occupied the eastern part of the nave and north aisle of the basilica. The size of the apse was reduced to suitable proportions and the building had a central dome and a smaller one at the eastern end of its north aisle, where the marble corner, already noted, stands. Copies of some of the frescoes in the domes were made before the destruction of the church.⁶ Along the east side of the Stoa is a series of rooms which include a large central room flanked by wings consisting of two large and two small rooms from which stairs probably led to an upper storey. The central hall, round which there ran a podium nearly as high as a man and 1.50 m. broad, has two rows of recesses in its east wall and has been identified as the Library. The corner rooms have sometimes been called lecture halls, but by analogy to the Library of Hadrian at Alexandria it has been suggested that they were used for the custody of archives, since the Greek and Roman custom was to hold lectures elsewhere than in libraries.⁷ The walls of all these rooms seem too light for anything but wooden trusses and coffered ceilings, perhaps the "gilded roof" mentioned by Pausanias. Other buildings attributed to Hadrian must have been not far from here.

In response to the need for expansion the old city wall was extended to include a new district to the east. A definite division between the old and the new cities is recorded on the Arch of Hadrian which almost certainly stood on or close to the site of a gate in the earlier wall and probably at the end of a street leading southeast to the large new quarter added by Hadrian.

It is a free-standing gateway of Pentelic marble measuring 13.50 m. \times 18 m. with a single arch resting on Corinthian pilasters to the right and left of which the façade was formerly decorated with Corinthian columns standing on quadrangular bases and connected with the wall by consoles still in place. Corinthian pilasters supporting architrave and frieze formed the corners and both façades of the gate were alike. On the frieze towards the Acropolis is the inscription: "This is Athens, the former city of Theseus"; on that towards the Olympeion: "This is the city of Hadrian and not of Theseus." Above was an attic consisting of three openings framed by Corinthian pilasters with entablature above, which were formerly closed by marble slabs. On each face the middle opening has Corinthian columns set slightly forward with a pediment above, giving the effect of aediculas.⁸

The new wall took off from the old one a little northwest of the

present Place de la Constitution (behind the old Boulé) and followed a course roughly east, then southeast, then southwest to include most of the area now included in the Royal and Zappeion Gardens, then passed south of the Olympieion and rejoined the old wall presumably at the Diomean Gate towards the upper part of the modern Syngrou Boulevard.

Within both Gardens are many remains of Roman buildings with mosaic floors and peristyles, belonging mostly to baths or villas, and numerous architectural fragments, capitals and even marble seats

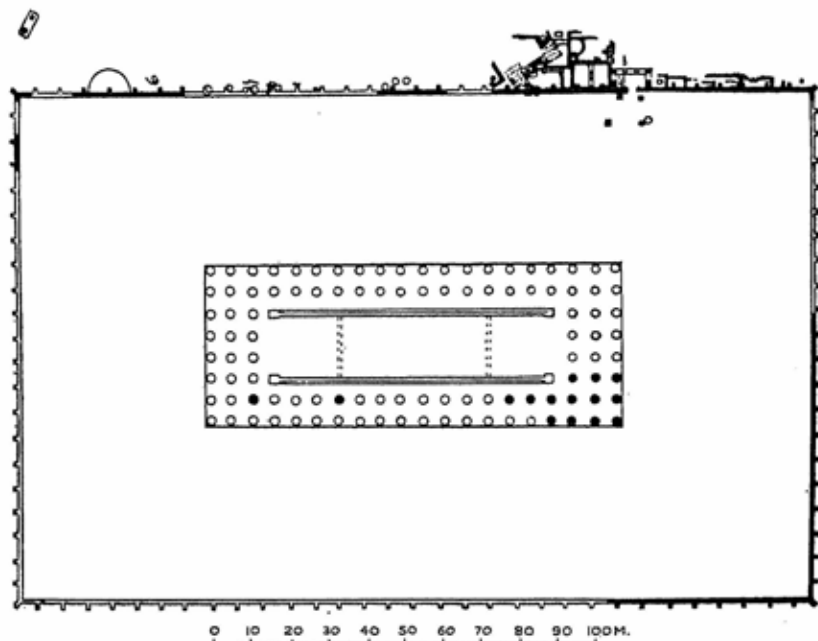


Fig. 34. The Olympieion Precinct

from the Theatre of Dionysos. Most of these remains have been known for a century or more and have been little studied in recent years, except for one Roman Bath directly north of the Olympieion enclosure which has been left open so that some of its rooms and mosaic floors may be better seen.⁹ In general there is little to add to the evidence summed up in the books by Graindor on Athens in the time of Hadrian and Herodes Atticus, both of whose names are associated with large monuments in this district—the Temple of Olympian Zeus completed by Hadrian and the Stadium sumptuously restored by Herodes Atticus.

The rectangular precinct of Olympian Zeus was surrounded by a massive wall of rusticated poros with buttresses at intervals of *ca.*

5.30 m. all round it and with stronger supports at the corners. The entire circuit measures 668 m., or approximately the four stades mentioned by Pausanias. Near the west end of the north wall is a semi-circular exedra and near its east end a small propylon, 5.40 m. \times 10.50 m., with four Ionic columns in front of antae. Its unimportant position and careless style suggest a subordinate entrance, but no traces of a more important approach have been found in the circuit wall.

Within the enclosure, surrounded by statues and other offerings, stood the Temple of Olympian Zeus. Pausanias notes the multiplicity of offerings and the antiquity of the local worships, going back to the days of the flood in the time of Deucalion who "they say" built the old sanctuary of Olympian Zeus. Scanty remains of limestone walls suggest that there may have been a small temple beneath the one begun by Peisistratos or his sons but abandoned when Hippias went into exile. That was a gigantic dipteral temple similar in plan to the huge early Ionic temples of Asia Minor but was to be of the Doric order and was said to be the work of the four architects Antistates, Callaeschrus, Antimachides and Porinos. Foundations of polygonal limestone and two steps of Kará stone were actually built and give the dimensions of 107.70 m. \times 42.90 m. on the stylobate. It was to have eight columns on the front and back and twenty-one on the sides with a diameter of 2.42 m. and height of 16 m. Some of the lower drums survive built into the late foundations.

The remains of the temple now visible go back for the most part to the time of the Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes, who resumed work in 174 B.C. from designs of the Roman architect Cossutius. The Corinthian order was substituted for the Doric and the building was carried up as far as the upper part of the entablature. Some of the capitals and shafts taken by Sulla in B.C. 86 to Rome and used to decorate the Capitolium had a strong influence on the Roman Corinthian style, and certain capitals still extant in Athens are too close to good Greek models to be of later Roman date and must belong to the time of Cossutius. The temple remained unfinished for about three-hundred years until it was completed, probably in A.D. 132, by Hadrian who also constructed the whole peribolos. The temple was tripteral on the ends and dipteral on the flanks, with proportions of eight to twenty, making a total of 104 columns. They, as well as the rest of the visible parts of the building, were of Pentelic marble.

Sixteen of the columns have survived; thirteen with their architraves are standing at the southeast corner, and two isolated ones on the south side are still in position, another which was blown down by a storm in 1852 now lies prostrate near the southwest corner. The remains are not sufficient to tell about the plan of the cella. Vitruvius says that it was hypaethral, which would sound reasonable in view of the great

span to be roofed, but as the building is known to have housed a large chryselephantine statue in Hadrian's time, at least the part where it stood would have had to be covered. The statue was a copy of the Zeus by Pheidias at Olympia and is shown on Athenian coins of Hadrianic date.¹⁰

The earliest known stadion in Athens was built in the middle of the fourth century B.C. by Lykourgos in the hollow between two hills on the left bank of the Ilissos towards which the stadion opened. It had apparently fallen into great disrepair when it was restored entirely of Pentelic marble by Herodes Atticus for use in the Panathenaic Games of A.D. 143-144, and according to Pausanias "the greater part of the Pentelic quarries was used up in its construction". That this was not literally true is evident from the fact that the feat has been duplicated through the generosity of the Greek millionaire Averoff, who gave a large sum for a second reconstruction in marble in time for the revival of the Olympic Games in 1896.

As now restored it corresponds to the description of Pausanias and follows the normal plan of a Greek stadion, of elongated horseshoe shape with interior dimensions of 204.07 m. \times 83.36 m. in which the race course itself was 184.96 m. in length. It was divided longitudinally by a row of upright pillars of which four have been found. One now in the National Museum (No. 1,693) consists of a double herm of Apollo or a young Dionysos back to back with a Hermes which is a free copy of the Hermes Propylaios of Alkamenes. The square holes in the shoulders were probably for supports to hold wreaths or garlands.

A low marble parapet once surmounted by a grille divided the arena from a broad promenade from which the spectators reached the seats by way of twenty-nine flights of stairs. There were more than fifty rows of seats divided by a *diazoma* and another broad corridor ran at the top. The estimated seating capacity was at least 50,000. In ancient times a Doric stoa surmounted the rounded end of the stadion and there was a portico with propylaea between the stadion and the river.

In Roman times gladiatorial shows took place here and the tunnel under the seats at the southwest near the rounded end (now used as the athletes' entrance) presumably was intended for the entrance of the beasts into the arena.¹¹

A temple to Fortune (Tyché), which housed a chryselephantine statue of the goddess, and has been identified with the remains of a large building on the western supporting hill, Ardettos, as well as the ancient bridge over the Ilissos, part of which still existed when Stuart first went to Athens in the middle of the eighteenth century were probably built by Herodes Atticus.

Herodes was said to have been mourned as a father by all and buried in the Panathenaic Stadion though he had died at his villa at Marathon and had desired to be buried there, but this can scarcely mean literally

in the Stadion itself, and the remains of a large structure, 55 m. \times 11 m., on the hill at its eastern side are sometimes thought to be those of his tomb.¹²

The Olympieion and the Stadion, one religious and the other secular, are the two most conspicuous monuments of an age noted for its wealth and splendour, but we must recall that both are elaborate versions of what had been begun by the Greeks, the Stadion at least as early as the fourth century B.C. and the Olympieion cited by Thucydides as one of the monuments to prove that the old city of Athens lay to the southward.

Another monument was the Pythion and though we have no exact indication of its position, Pausanias notes a statue of Apollo Pythios immediately after he leaves the Olympieion and two large fragments of the altar of Apollo Pythios were found to the southwest of the temple on the right bank of the Ilissos. The altar is of great interest not only in itself but because it is mentioned by Thucydides as a dedication of Peisistratos the younger. He says the inscription may still be seen, though the letters are nearly effaced, and it reads: "Peisistratos, son of Hippias, dedicated this memorial of his archonship in the sacred precinct of the Pythian Apollo". This would have been between 527 and 510 B.C. and the inscription clearly cut on the fascia above a Lesbian cymation moulding can be read much more easily than in Thucydides's time, for the original colour with which the letters were filled, faded in his day, was renewed at a later date. A great number of other fragments of inscriptions and bases for tripods or statues dedicated to Apollo Pythios as well as the altar found on the right bank west of the Olympieion indicate that the precinct was situated here.¹³

After the precinct of Apollo Pythios came that of Apollo Delphinios and then Pausanias reaches the Gardens where the sanctuary of Aphrodite with the famous statue by Alkamenes of which the "Venus Genetrix" is supposed to be a copy was situated. We have heard of the Gardens before (pp. 102-103) in connection with the secret pilgrimage of the Arrephoroi and whether the girls came to this relatively distant spot or to a garden on the north slope of the Acropolis has already been questioned. At any rate, Pausanias was now reaching the kind of places that spread out over a considerable extent in the suburban district. He seems first to have followed the right bank of the Ilissos, passing the sanctuary of Herakles known as Kynosarges, a great gymnasium where the youths of not exclusively Athenian blood were required to take their exercise, but which was most famous as the school of Cynic philosophers. The Herakleia was one of the festivals commemorated on the Attic calendar now built into the Little Metropolitan Church. Next Pausanias went on to the Lykeion, another large gymnasium for civil and military use but associated chiefly with Aristotle and Plato as a second Academy, that of the Peripatetics.

Then follows a digression on the two rivers, the Eridanos, which we have met by the Sacred Gate in the Kerameikos, and the Ilissos whose sources rise on the slopes of Hymettos, one at Kaisariani the other at St. John Theolologos, and meet to flow through the edge of Athens. It is better to leave untold the ultimate fate of that sparkling stream shaded by plane trees, so beloved of Sokrates and associated with the myth of the rape of Oreitheia by Boreas, the sanctuaries of Pan and Acheloos and the nymphs and the spring of Kallirhoe, for the growth of population and the demands of "progress" have led at last to its being covered in and lost to us. The many reliefs and vases dedicated to the out-of-door deities show the popularity of the place in ancient times.¹⁴

Another famous place was the sanctuary of the hero-king Kodros, a voluntary sacrifice for his country, and of Neleus and Basile. The temenos must have been of considerable size, for an inscription tells us that at least two hundred young olive trees were to be planted in it and mentions the Dionysion, the gate where the Mystics go forth to the sea and the gate to the bath of Isthmonikos among its boundaries. It was probably on the right bank of the Ilissos, perhaps to the southeast of the Theatre of Dionysos.¹⁵

On the left bank we get farther afield into the district known as Agrai and here the two most famous temples were those of Artemis Agrotera and of Demeter in *Agris*, where the Lesser Mysteries were celebrated.

Somewhere here, probably near the modern church of Hagia Photine, stood the small Ionic temple published by Stuart and Revett, which has completely disappeared, but which from Stuart's drawings has been identified as built from the original plans for the Temple of Niké Apteros. These, as we know, were provided for as early as 449 B.C., but though the extant temple of Athene Niké was not built until many years later, the plans appear to have been utilised for this temple which differs only in minor details, mostly of a more archaic nature.¹⁶

Next Pausanias comes to the Stadion which he says is a wonderful thing to see, but not so interesting to describe, and so he betakes himself again to the Prytaneion and makes a fresh start along the Street of the Tripods.

CHAPTER XX

The Outskirts, The Kerameikos, The Academy

WE must leave the valley of the Ilissos and cross over from east to west to the other river bounding Athens, the Eridanos, already mentioned in connection with the Sacred Gate and the Kerameikos, our starting point for a survey of Athens.

The district was always a cemetery ever since Sub-Mycenaean times, it furnishes a medley of graves and a confusion of strata disentangled only as the result of long painstaking research. A State burial in the Kerameikos was the highest reward for service, military or political. The centres of religious activity and worship—the Acropolis, Theatre, Hephaesteion, Olympeion and various smaller *temene*—and also the Agora and the Pnyx where were focussed the civic activities, have been described and now we must turn to the spot where those who had deserved well of their country were finally laid to rest.

In Chapter III we traced the gradual progress from the nameless and unidentified tombs of the Late Bronze and Early Iron periods to those in which some commemorative marker was provided. At first they were simple slabs standing beside the burial vases of the eleventh to eighth centuries and projecting slightly above the surface of the ground, then came the huge Dipylon or Proto-Attic vases which stood above the grave mounds, then the forerunners of the sculptured slabs of poros or marble which began in the archaic period. The lower parts of two early stelai set with lead into rectangular bases survive to show the development from the crude stones of the previous times. The earlier belongs to the second half of the seventh century and is roughly worked with downward tapering sides; the other, from the end of the century, is made of well worked poros and narrows upwards, as a sort of ancestor of the archaic stelai which flanked the roads leading from the Sacred Gate and the Dipylon, the former used chiefly for monuments of a private or personal nature, the other for official monuments erected by the State.¹

From the Sacred Gate, in which the channel constructed for the river was divided from the passageway for pilgrims on foot, the road and channel continued for *ca.* 125 m., then branched with the northern fork leading to the Sacred Way and the southern to the road to the Peiraeus. In the angle stood the small *temenos* of the Tritopatores and along the roads were tombs of many styles. There seem to have been fashions in these as well as in other things, and after the mounds which covered the graves came the family plots, enclosed by walls built at first of sun-dried brick and then of particularly fine masonry.

By about 400 B.C. the road (*ca.* 8 m. broad) known as the Street of Tombs had taken on an imposing appearance. Graves of an earlier date were found in clearing the area farther north, and on the hill where formerly stood the church of Hagia Triada, but they are mostly too ruinous and scattered and overgrown for satisfactory study. The Street of the Tombs was not only lined with massive structures on each side but was bordered to the south by at least three terraces of family lots which lay on the sloping ground above and were reached from the Street of Tombs by several cross-streets also lined with monuments. The Street and its extension must have made an attractive appearance planted with cypresses and shrubs amongst the monuments, and it continued so through much of the fourth century until the sumptuary laws of Demetrius of Phaleron in 317/6 B.C. forbade the use of anything but a small undecorated column (*kioniskos*) not more than 3 cubits in height.

But for a century or so previous to that time there were innumerable fine monuments and stelai, following what seems to have been a long hiatus after the delightful examples of the archaic period. The lack of such memorials at the time of the flowering of Attic sculpture is difficult to explain unless it may have been the result of a law (cited by Cicero, *De Leg. II.* 26, 64) passed some time after the days of Solon, prohibiting tombs larger than could be built by ten men in three days, but even that would hardly account for the lack of stelai, and it may have been because of some legislation by Peisistratos which forbade the erection of the costly statues or reliefs such as had been made for the aristocrats and substituted a simpler stele. In the first half of the fifth century when there was a dearth of monuments in Athens, they were plentiful elsewhere and perhaps some of them were made by Athenian workmen who sought employment in other places.²

When, however, in the latter prosperous part of the century, stelai of a shorter and broader type than the archaic examples came into vogue, they were produced by the thousands and help fill many museums. They have been studied in great detail and here we shall cite only some of those examples which are still to be seen *in situ*.³

The first of these, the monument of Dexileos, is not only an impressive monument but an illustration of how a private monument was sometimes erected as a cenotaph for those who lay with the war heroes in the State part of the cemetery. Dexileos was one of those killed in action before Corinth in 394 B.C., as we know from an inscription now in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens which gives the names of the horsemen who fell there.

His family erected the well-known quadrant-shaped monument on the corner of the Street of Tombs and one of the cross-streets to the slope above. It is a massive ashlar base of conglomerate on which stood the curved monument of poros with the Pentelic marble stele of

Dexileos at the centre and a marble siren playing the lyre at either end. The central stele is crowned by a pediment and represents Dexileos riding over his enemy who has fallen to the ground and rests on his elbow with his shield behind him. Below the relief is the inscription "Dexileos, son of Lysanides from Thorikos, was born in the archonship of Teisandros (414 B.C.) and died in that of Euboulides (394/3 B.C.) in Corinth, one of the five knights."

Similar, though not identical, stelai are in Berlin and the Villa Albani and another fine version was found in 1931 near the Academy and is now in the National Museum at Athens. It is a cubical base on three sides of which the motif of riding down a fallen foe has been repeated with a slight variation of posture. This youth, unlike Dexileos, wears a petasos, but the arrangement of the chlamys is almost exactly the same and the Academy monument seems clearly to have been derived from that of Dexileos, which was undoubtedly a famous one.

Tall stelai erected to Dexileos' brother Lysias and his sister Melitta stand on the quadrangular foundation of the monument. A table-shaped monument (*trapeza*) found on the terrace of the tomb is not inscribed, but near by is another bearing the name of Lysanios (another brother of Dexileos), his wife Kallistrate, and their son Kalliphanes.

Next to Dexileos comes the lot of Agathon and Sosikrates of Herakleia, on which stood the tall stele of the brothers and other stelai of the naiskos type, with the end of the façade probably supporting marble funeral lekythoi; then the lot of Dionysios of Kollytos with a huge figure of a bull standing on a tall stele overtopping the empty central naiskos of Dionysios and with lions on the corners of the monument; then that of Lysimachos of Acharnai with the great hound resting on the corner and the relief of the boat of Charon on the river Styx, added in Roman times. Opposite this monument is the best example of an enclosure superbly built of polygonal masonry topped by flat tiles and cover-tiles, but few other large lots have been preserved on this side of the street.

Numerous other important tombs can be identified, and many of them represent scenes of leave-taking with dignity and restraint. They are too well known to delay us and we need mention only one or two examples of characteristic types that have been found in the recent excavations. One of them, the stele of Ampharete, holding her infant grandchild whose mother's loss she mourns, is already familiar to many, as it was lent by the Greek Government to the New York World's Fair and remained for some time after in the Metropolitan Museum until its return to Greece. Other stelai with scenes of parting, and marble funerary lekythoi or loutrophoroi are well illustrated by the new examples in the Kerameikos Museum.³

On the terrace immediately above the tombs lining the street was a large enclosed area, 37.50 m. long by 8 m. wide in its western half and

14 m. in its eastern, which has no burials in it and has been identified as the Temenos of Hekate. A smaller extension at the centre of its northern side had a niche in the northern wall in front of which are several objects associated with chthonic cults. One is a limestone block 0.59 m. \times 0.49 m. \times 0.49 m. with a triangular cutting with bevelled corners in its upper surface, identified as the base for a statue of the familiar triple form of Hekate, and directly in front of it was a quadrangular hearth or *eschara* enclosing an omphalos-shaped object. Close at hand is a rectangular structure, apparently a sort of podium, with two steps to it on the south side. These objects are mostly of late construction, built of old pieces of marble and bricks, and all were grouped in the smaller north wing of the temenos which was apparently the centre of the cult. Near the podium were found inscriptions to Artemis Soteira and to Kalliste, and built into it are a dedication to Artemis Soteira by Maron and a third-century votive relief of Hymettos marble with a sacrificial scene showing a man and a woman following a boy leading a sheep to the altar. The most striking object in the south part of the temenos is a large well with a poros kerb *ca.* 1.29 m. square. Although the late and poorly built walls of the precinct and the use of brick point to a Roman date, the cult of Hekate was one of the oldest in Greece.⁴

The more westerly part of the terraces of tombs was cut away when sheds for the tram-cars were built on this side of the modern Peiraeus Street—itself a rather devastating procedure—on the opposite side of which, at the corner of the Sacred Way was put the huge public market which must account for the disappearance of many more monuments. Frequent references in ancient writers tell us that the borders of the ancient Peiraeus Road were full of them.

The area bounded by modern Peiraeus Street, the Dipylon and the Sacred Gate, the Street of Tombs and the road to the Academy has been the principal field of meticulous excavation during the decade before World War II and the resulting honeycomb of pits and trenches and fragments of walls though invaluable to the student, calls for a great effort of the imagination on the part of the average visitor to picture what it may have looked like in the different periods.⁵

We are on safer ground with the splendid broad road that led straight from the Dipylon to the Academy for a distance of eight stadia forming a monumental highway. A stretch some 125 m. long and averaging 20 m. broad has been cleared in the recent excavations, going as far as Peiraeus Street. Both termini have been identified and excavated, the Dipylon wholly and the Academy in part, and one or two monuments have been noted along its course, but first we must note two important sanctuaries that were near at hand. Though we cannot be absolutely sure of their sites they were said to be on the road to the Academy.

The first was the peribolos of Artemis with wooden images of Ariste

and Kalliste, names which Pausanias believes to be epithets of Artemis, though he knows another explanation which he says he will omit, probably a reference to the story of Kalliste the bear in Arcadian legend. A small altar dedicated to Artemis was found near the Dipylon as well as a stele which was to be set up in the precinct of Artemis, and many other inscriptions including three dedicated to Kalliste were discovered in the line of the road to the Academy 200 m. northwest of the Dipylon, where the remains of walls meeting at an angle have been identified as those of her precinct. She, like Eileithyia or Hekate, was a fertility goddess and the nature of the dedications which include a votive relief and parts of the human body are appropriate.⁶

The other was the small temenos of Dionysos Eleutheros to which the image was taken from the Temple of Dionysos Eleutheros beside the Theatre every year on the appropriate days. It was here that the old wooden image was said to have rested on its way from Eleutherai.⁷

The avenue to the Academy was bordered by monuments erected by the State, either to individuals or as *polyandreia* for the burial of groups of heroes who had fallen in battle. Pausanias enumerates many of the illustrious who were distinguished in various fields of activity in different parts of the Greek world. But for the heroes over whom an oration was pronounced by the leading statesman, the noblest commemoration is the Funeral Oration by Perikles in Thucydides (II. 35-46) in which the ideals of a state and its citizens are set forth in a fashion never since equalled.

Near the beginning of the avenue are the four boundary stones already noted (p. 33), two beside the Dipylon, one by the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians and one a few metres farther on.

The first important public monument to be recorded is the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians discovered in 1930 and situated 55 m. northwest of the Dipylon. It was a *polyandreion* divided into three compartments and measured ca. 11 m. on the front. It contained the skeletons of thirteen Spartans who fell while aiding the aristocratic party in the battle of 403 B.C. when Thrasyboulos freed Athens from the Thirty Tyrants. Three of the Spartans, buried together in the central compartment are in all probability identified as the two polemarchs Chairon and Thibrachos and the Olympic victor Lakrates. On the face of the monument can still be read the names of Chairon and Thibrachos and also, in larger letters, the initial letters ΛΑ of the name Lakedaimonians.⁸

Many inscriptions, including the three famous historical ones referring to the battles at Potidaea, on the Hellespont and at Corinth, confirm the accuracy of Pausanias's account of the monuments along the road, the greater part of which still lies beneath the houses and streets of the modern city.⁹

Its course has been plotted out in full and at a few points on it remains

discovered by chance in excavating for buildings have been noted. One has been recognised by some as the sanctuary of Kalliste and not far from it several well-built tombs have been found along the line of the road. At its terminus at the expected distance of 1500 m. from the Dipylon, excavations have brought to light the remains of an enclosed peribolos identified as the Academy. The wall built of good squared blocks has been traced east of the church of St. Tryphon for a distance of 500 m., and on the south side a shorter piece apparently of older date has been identified as the Wall of Hipparchos (Ἱππάρχου Τείχος, Suidas). North of it was the ancient street with two unidentified buildings and nine graves which contained gold wreaths and two gilded thyrsos of terracotta, and above them was an altar-like structure. It was possible to clear parts of two large buildings, one a rectangle of the Roman period, probably a gymnasium with a peristyle court surrounded by rooms, beneath which at the archaic level, was what appears to have been the oldest gymnasium of Greece, measuring 40 m. × 24 m. Terracotta antefixes of palmette form and part of a metope of terracotta decorated with a stag in black-figured style (one of the first painted terracotta metopes found in Attica) indicate that the site was in use as early as the sixth century B.C. Deeper down are remains of a cemetery of the Geometric period and even of a Middle Helladic settlement, probably one of many small ones in this vicinity to the northwest of the Acropolis. The other building is a large one, perhaps the Peripatos, with columns arranged like those in the Telesterion at Eleusis, of which thirteen on the south side and three on the east were excavated. Farther to the west were Thermae of the early Imperial period with some pieces of *opus reticulatum* which is very rare in Greece.¹⁰

It is perhaps as well that the associations of the Academy are intellectual rather than material, for the excavations optimistically begun and carried out under most unfavourable conditions—the protests of house holders, since it was not yet an archaeological zone in which property could be expropriated, the untimely floods of the Kephissos, the coming of the war, and finally the death of the generous patron—have perforce been abandoned and the sordid surroundings are far removed from the famous olive groves of Academe so charmingly described by Leake and other travellers of a century ago. The altars of Eros, Prometheus, the Muses, Hermes, Athene and Herakles and the sacred olive trees, the *moriai* descended from the trees on the Acropolis, the tomb of Plato and the tower of Kimon told of by Pausanias have all disappeared and we are dependent on literary works to stimulate our imaginations regarding its past glories.

And the same is true of the hill of Kolonos Hippios, the refuge of Oidipous, 10 stadia from the city wall and not far from the Academy. It too has been surrounded by the modern city which we must forget in

favour of the charming spot with its nightingales, its ivy and berries and lovely flowers sung of by the chorus in *Oed. Col.* 688-719.¹¹

We should not, however, leave this account of the Kerameikos and its neighbours on a note of sadness, but may rather remember the races when the torches, lighted according to Pausanias at the Altar of Prometheus but according to Plutarch at that of Eros, in the Academy were borne flaming along the broad road to the city and the place was ablaze with excitement. The races were of two kinds, those in which the torch was carried alight by single contestants and those we know as relay races.¹²

The latter may perhaps stand as a symbolic expression of what we have tried to show in these chapters,—that the torch lighted thousands of years ago was passed on from hand to hand, sometimes burning brilliantly, sometimes flickering or almost extinguished. After the fall of the Byzantine Empire which had cherished the tradition, even the invasions of the Franks and other barbarians from the west, the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks and the subsequent centuries of domination could not quench it, and since the Greek War of Independence and the coming of political freedom once more the divine fire which had never died is still burning in Hellas.

NOTES

Chapter I

1. Mylonas, G. E., 'Η Νεολιθική Έποχή ἐν Ἑλλάδι, Athens, 1928, pp. 75-76; *Ibid.*, "Athens and Minoan Crete", *Athenian Studies Presented to William Scott Ferguson, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Suppl. Vol. I, pp. 11-36.
- Blegen, C. W., "Athens and the Early Age of Greece", *ibid.*, pp. 1-9; Skias, A. N., "Τύμβος προϊστορικός ὑπὸ Ἀκρόπολιν", *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1902, Cols. 123-130, εἰκ. 1-4; *Annuario*, IV-V, p. 490; Levi, D., "Abitazioni preistoriche sulle pendici dell' Acropoli", *ibid.*, XIII-XIV, pp. 411-491, Figs. 1-73, Tav. XXVI, XXVII (in colour).
2. Hansen, H., "The Prehistoric Pottery on the North Slope of the Acropolis", 1937, *Hesp.* VI, pp. 539-570, Figs. 1-20; Neolithic, pp. 540-542, Figs. 1, 2; *Hesp.* VII, pp. 164, 335-338, Figs. 16, 17 (Neol.), 18-21 (MH); IX, pp. 297-298, Figs. 38, 39; XII, pp. 205-207; Agora, *Hesp.* V, pp. 20-21, Figs. 17, 18; VII, p. 336; VIII, p. 235 (marble figurine); IX, p. 298, Fig. 39.
3. Wace, A. J. B. and Blegen, C. W., "The Pre-Mycenaean Pottery of the Mainland", *BSA*, XXII, pp. 175-189, Pls. VI-XI.
4. *Hesp.* VI, pp. 542-546, Figs. 3, 4; XII, pp. 205-206.
5. *Hesp.* VI, pp. 546-557, Figs. 5-12; IX, p. 270; Erechtheion, *AJA*, 1924, pp. 155-156; Paton, p. 581; Academy, *AJA*, 1937, p. 138; *AA*, 1937, 117.
6. *Hesp.* VI, pp. 557-562, Figs. 13-16; Stubbings, F. H., "The Mycenaean Pottery of Attica", *BSA*, XLII, pp. 1-75, Figs. 1-26, Pls. 1-18; see below, Chapter II.
7. See Chapter II, N. 3, 7-10, 17-22.
8. See Chapter III, N. 13.
9. Thuc. I, 89-92; Plut., *Themistokles*, XIX. See also Chapter IV, N. 2-5.
10. Judeich, pp. 120-124 (old wall); 124-144, Abb. 8, a, b, c, 10 (Themistoklean). His Plan IV, "Die Mauerringe Athens", shows the circuit walls of all periods; Plan I, "Alt-Athen auf dem Boden der heutigen Stadt", which shows the position of many fragmentary walls as well as buildings is invaluable.
11. For Roman Athens see Chapter XIX. Greek Agora, Dörpfeld, *Alt Athen*, pp. 77-88.

Chapter II

The official excavation of the Acropolis was undertaken by the Greek Archaeological Society under Kavvadias in the years 1885-1890 when the surface was cleared to bed-rock, the walls recorded in detail and the area filled in to its present level.

Kavvadias, P., and Kawerau, G., *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis*, (also in Greek), (cited as K. and K.); Judeich², pp. 52-55, (The Burgstadt); Harrison, *Primitive Athens*, Chapters I, II; Picard, *L'Acropole*, I, pp. 9-12.

There is, as far as I know, no comprehensive treatment of the remains of the Acropolis in this period. Detailed studies include Holland, L.B., "Erechtheum Papers", I. "The Remains of the pre-Erechtheum", *AJA*, 1924, pp. 1-23, Figs. 1-12; II, "The Strong House of Erechtheus", *ibid.*, pp. 142-169, Figs. 1-13, Pl. VII; "The Hall of the Athenian Kings", *AJA*, 1939, pp. 289-298. Pl. IX.

1. Stevens, *Hesp.* XV, pp. 73-77, Fig. 2; Harrison, *P.A.*, Fig. 2 (Sketch Plan of Prehistoric Acropolis); Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1947, p. 122, Fig. 3 (Plan of Acropolis before 480 B.C.).

2. Stevens, *Hesp.* Suppl. III, pp. 7 ff. (Mycenaean sherds, p. 13); Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1934, pp. 408-448, Figs. 1-12, with many references to previous publications.

3. Broneer, *Hesp.* II, pp. 350-356, Figs. 22-25, Pl. XI; IV, pp. 109-113, Figs. 1-3; 117-118, Fig. 7, Pl. I; VII, pp. 169-170, Fig. 7.

4. Holland, *AJA*, 1924, pp. 143-150, Figs. 1-3, Pl. VII.

5. Stevens, "The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis of Athens", *Hesp.* V, pp. 489-491, Figs. 40, 66. For the cult of the Arrephoroi, *M. and M.*, pp. xxxiii-xxxvi, 512-513; Elderkin, G.W., *Hesp.* X, pp. 120-124.

6. Kavvadias, P., "Τοπογραφικά Ἀθηνῶν κατὰ τὸς περὶ τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν Ἀνάσκαφος", Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1897, pp. 1-32, 87-92, Pls. I-IV; Harrison, *P.A.*, pp. 67-82, Figs. 21-23; Keramopoulos, A.D., "ὑπὸ τὰ Προπύλαια τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως", Ἀρχ. Δελτ., 1929, pp. 71-101; B' ὑπὸ Μακράς, pp. 86-101, *Εκκ.*, 1. Picard, *L'Acropole*, I, pp. 13-15.

7. Broneer, O., "A Mycenaean Fountain on the Athenian Acropolis", *Hesp.* VIII, pp. 317-433, Figs. 1-100, Pls. XI-XIII; reviewed *AJA*, 1940, pp. 552-559, see especially on 554-555.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 326-346, Figs. 3-21.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 342-346.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 346-405, Figs. 22-85; Broneer, "What happened at Athens" *AJA*, 1948, pp. 111-118.

11. Stevens, *Hesp.* V, pp. 500-504, Figs. 51, 52; Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1947, p. 122, N. 69, disagrees.

12. Holland, *AJA*, 1924, pp. 161-166, Pl. VII.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-169, Fig. 13.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-16, Fig. 11 (plan), 2-6, 9 (north wall), 10-12 (Maidens).

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 150-158, Figs. 4-9 (wall), 10-11 (floor), 12 (plan); Stevens, *Hesp.* XV, pp. 97-102, Figs. 15, 18. See also Chapter XVI, N. 8.

16. Graef, B. and Langlotz, E., "Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen", I, pp. 5-23, Taf. 2-8, Nos. 32-240 (Mycenaean), pp. 23-43, Taf. 8-11, Nos. 241-343 (Geometric); Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1934, pp. 417 ff., for sherds.

17. For further discussion of the Pelargikon see the end of Chapter XIII.

18. *Hesp.* IX, pp. 274-291, Figs. 12-33: pottery, pp. 278-282, Figs. 17-25; Ivories, etc., pyxis, pp. 283-287, Figs. 27-29, 31; Smaller tomb, p. 291, Fig. 3.

19. *Hesp.* XVII, pp. 154-158, Figs. 2-4, Pls. XXXIX, 1, 2, 3, XL, 1, 2; plan of area, Fig. 2, plan of tomb, Fig. 3, bronzes, Fig. 4.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 163-165, Fig. 6, Pls. 44, 45.

22. *Hesp.* II, pp. 363-372, Figs. 34-45; IV, pp. 189-193, Figs. 1, 2; VI, pp. 539 ff., L.H., pp. 557-562, Figs. 13-16; VIII, pp. 346-401, Figs. 24-83.
 23. *Hesp.* IV, pp. 318-320, Figs. 5-8; V, pp. 21-23, Fig. 20; XVI, pp. 202; XIX, p. 326; XX, p. 68, Pl. 33.
 24. See Chapter XVIII, N. 2.
 25. *AA*, 1931, p. 213; *AJA*, 1932, p. 64.

Chapter III

The best summary of the excavations in the Kerameikos is in Karo, G., *An Attic Cemetery* (referred to as Karo), which gathers together the results of the excavations of the past one hundred years, begun by the Greek Archaeological Society, continued by them in collaboration with Brückner and resumed on an extensive scale by the German Archaeological Institute as a result of a grant by Mr. G. Oberländer who also gave the funds for the Museum building. Bibliography, p. 43.

Brief preliminary reports were published in *AM*, 1926-1928, 1930, 1931, 1934; *AA*, 1930 ff. Special reports, very fully illustrated and with many plans, *AA*, 1932-1943.

Kerameikos, the large official publication, of which four volumes have appeared, is in progress.

1. Karo, Pls. 13, 14.
2. Kraiker and Kübler, *Kerameikos*, I, *passim*.
3. *Ibid.*, Taf. 1-28 (Sub-Mycenaean), 29-77 (Proto-Geometric); Karo, Pls. 2-7. Desborough, V. R. d'A., *Proto-geometric Pottery*, Oxford, 1952, reached me too late to be used.
4. For an excellent summary of the Attic Geometric style see Kahane, P., "Die Entwicklungsphasen der Attisch-Geometrischen Keramik", *AJA*, 1940, pp. 464-482, Pls. XVII-XXVIII. See also Cook, J. M., "Athenian Workshops around 700", *BSA*, XLII, pp. 139-155, Figs. 1-7, Pls. 19-22.
5. Karo, Pl. 11 (from *AJA*, 1915, pp. 385 ff., Pl. 17, q.v.). Many examples of this style are to be seen in the principal museums.
6. Cook, J. M., "Proto-attic Pottery", *BSA*, XXXV, pp. 165-219, Pls. 38-60, (very fully documented and illustrated); Karo, Pl. 12.
7. Karo, p. 15 ff., Pl. 14 (Opferrinne); Cook, *BSA*, XXXV, pp. 189 ff. (see Index), Appendix B., pp. 209-211; Richter, "Terracotta Plaques from Early Attic Tombs", *Met. Mus. Bulletin*, N.S., I, pp. 80-92, Figs. 1-20; *Ibid.*, *AAG*, p. 4, N. 3.
8. Karo, Pls. 15 (vases), 16 (burners and figures), 38 (Museum). The pottery of the Kerameikos has been described in some detail because in the Museum it is possible to see examples of all styles arranged in chronological order.
9. Richter, G.M.A., *Archaic Attic Gravestones*, *passim*; pp. 5-6, 91, 119-120; recently discovered sphinxes in the Kerameikos, *AA*, 1943, 391-419, Abb. 29, 31-37, 62, 63.
10. *AJA*, 1935, p. 130.
11. Thompson, H. A., *Hesp.*, XVII, pp. 167-168, Fig. 6; XIX, pp. 330-331; Young, Rodney S., "An Early Geometric Grave near the Athenian Agora",

Hesp., XVIII, pp. 275-297, Figs. 1-12, Pls. 66-72; "Sepulturæ intra Urbem", *Hesp.*, XX, pp. 67-134, Figs. 1-9, Pls. 33-54.

12. Young, Rodney S., "Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora", *Hesp. Suppl.* II, 1939, pp. i-ix; 1-250, Figs. 1-144.

13. Burr, Dorothy, "A Geometric House and a Proto-Attic Votive Deposit", *Hesp.*, II, pp. 542-640, Figs. 1-92.

14. *Hesp.*, II, pp. 604-609, Figs. 72, 73; *Ill. London News*, 3 Sept., 1932, p. 345.

Chapter IV

1. See Chapter I, N. 9.

2. Judeich², pp. 132-135, Abb. 9, Taf. IV.

3. National Museum, Athens, 3476, 3477: Papaspyridi, *Guide*, pp. 38-41, Figs. 3, 4; bibl. p. 41. For other sculptures from the wall, Richter, *Archaic Attic Gravestones*, pp. 22 ff.; 36 ff., Fig. 50; pp. 41-43, Fig. 61; pp. 46-47, 113, Fig. 59; p. 62, Fig. 10.

4. Judeich², pp. 138-139, Abb. 10; *AA*, 1943, 345 ff., Abb. 9-27, Beil. 1, 2.

5. Judeich², p. 134 (Konon), 138 (later), both on Taf. 3b; Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, p. 10, No. 23 (Themistokles), p. 31, Nos. 75, 76 (Konon).

6. *I.G.*, II², 2617, Judeich², p. 167, Taf. 23b; *I.G.*, II², 2618, *AA*, 1915, 117, Abb. 4; *I.G.*, II², 2619 *AA*, 1915, 115-116, Abb. 5; *Hesp.* IX, p. 267, Fig. 4.

7. Judeich², pp. 135-138, Abb. 10; altar, *I.G.*, II², 4983.

8. Judeich², pp. 360-362, Abb. 45 (Greek), 46 (Roman); *AM*, 1915, pp. 12-13, Beil. VII, 1; *ibid.*, 1931, pp. 1-32, Beil. I-IX, Pompeion, pp. 3-24; *AA*, 1930, pp. 89-90, Abb. 3, 4; Menander inscription, Judeich², p. 362, n. 1. For earlier remains below the Greek Pompeion and in its vicinity and between the Dipylon Gate and the Monument of the Lakedaimonians see Chapter III and references in footnotes there.

9. Paus. I.2.4.

10. *Hesp.* VI, pp. 339-342, Figs. 4-6.

11. Lysias, XXIV, 20; Theophrastos, *Characters*, *passim*; Judeich², pp. 358-360; Harrison, *M. and M.*, pp. 14-16.

12. Plut., *Alkib.*, XIX; *I.G.*, I², 329, 330, 334: about thirty-five new fragments, chiefly from the Agora, will be published by W. K. Pritchett in a forthcoming number of *Hesperia*.

13. Karo, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41, Fig. 3, "Plan of Kerameikos and Agora, showing the Distances"; Dörpfeld, *Antike Denkmäler*, II, Taf. 37.

14. *I.G.*, II², 4275; Judeich², p. 362, N. 4 and 5. He believes in the authenticity of the identification, as does Dörpfeld.

15. *Hesp.* VI, pp. 339-342, Figs. 4-6.

16. Judeich², p. 363, N. 1 (with full references).

17. Travlos, "The West Side of the Athenian Agora Restored", *Hesp. Suppl.* VIII, pp. 391-392, Fig. 2. See also Chapter IX, N. 23; Judeich², pp. 368-369.

Chapter V

Reports of the annual campaigns in the Agora are published in *Hesperia*, beginning with 1933. Those from 1933 to 1941 were written by the late Professor Shear. Since 1940 they are by Professor H. A. Thompson who succeeded Mr. Shear as Field Director of the Excavations. Many detailed special studies have also appeared in *Hesperia* and are referred to in the appropriate footnotes.

Most of the plans of the Agora were prepared by the Architect of the American School, Mr. John Travlos. The models of the Buildings on the West Side of the Agora and of the Odeion were made under Mr. Travlos's direction by Mr. Christos Mammelis.

An admirable brief survey of the region of the excavations will be found in Vanderpool, Eugene, "The Route of Pausanias in the Athenian Agora", *Hesperia*, XVIII, pp. 128-137, Fig. 1, Pl. 9.

Chapter V is based chiefly on Thompson, H. A., "Buildings on the West Side of the Agora", *Hesp.*, VI, pp. 1-226, Figs. 1-126, Pls. I-VIII, very fully documented with references to earlier reports on the excavations.

1. Paus., I, 3, 1-4; *Hesp.* VI, pp. 5-77, Figs. 2-40, Pls. I, II; pre-Stoa remains, 8-21, Figs. 3-11.

2. *Hesp.*, VI, pp. 53-55; Martin, R., "La Stoa Basileos, Portiques à Ailes et Lieux d'Assemblée", *BCH*, 1942-1943, pp. 274-298, Pl. XIV (from *Hesp.* VI, Pl. IX).

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-39, Fig. 25; 66-68, Fig. 40 (kylix).

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-76; 225-226 (Addendum).

5. The strange word *kurbeis* has given rise to much discussion, very largely because of its confusion with *axones* or wooden tablets which revolved with the oblong frames enclosing them. By the fifth century the word "*kurbeis*" had come to signify the body of ancient law, both sacred and profane, and the "*axones*" were the material objects on which the laws were inscribed. Either word could therefore be used when referring to the written laws. See Oliver, J. H., "Greek Inscriptions", *Hesp.*, IV, pp. 1-70, pp. 9-12.

6. *Hesp.*, VI, pp. 75-76; altar, p. 74 N.4; statue, p. 74, N.3.

7. One from Kisamos in Crete; one from Gortyna, now in the Museum at Herakleion; one found in a Roman villa at Knossos in 1935; and one in the Museum at Istanbul, which was found at Hierapytna in Crete. Shear, *Hesp.*, II, pp. 178-183, Figs. 8-10, Pl. VI; VI, pp. 352-354, Figs. 16, 17.

8. *Hesp.* VI, pp. 77-115, Figs. 41-60, Pls. III-V.

9. Dörpfeld, W., *AM*, 1896, pp. 107 ff.; *Alt Athen*, I, pp. 77-88.

10. *Hesp.* VI, pp. 104-107, Fig. 55. In the spring of 1937 when digging to prepare foundations for some buildings, the Department of Public Works discovered the southwest corner of the temenos wall and the altar of a small sanctuary of Zeus Phratrios and Athene Phratria that bordered an important roadway running north and south. These remains are on the eastern side of Plateia Karamanou which is situated on Athene Street between Byse and Boreas Streets. The eastern limit of the well-packed ancient roadway was marked by a large drain that bordered it, with floor for the most part of living rock, sides of poros with conglomerate orthostates, and a vaulted roof of

Roman bricks. The average depth was 1 m. and the width 1.50 m. This drain emptied into the main sewer that ran east and west to the Sacred Gate.

The walls of the sanctuary were of massive conglomerate blocks. Four slabs of Hymettos marble with cyma recta and fascia below and ovolo and fascia above were set on edge to support the altar-top, now missing.

One word of the inscription was cut on the upper part of each slab in letters of the second half of the fourth or early third century. No traces remain of any temple and this may have been the shrine of some special phratry and not a State monument. See *Hesp.* VII, pp. 612-625, Figs. 1-9.

11. See Papaspyridi, *Semnc, Guide du Musée National, Marbres, Bronzes et Vases*, p. 82 for references; *Hesp.* VI, pp. 107-108, Fig. 56. A slab of marble inscribed 'Απόλλωνος Πατρώου now in the Epigraphical Museum once formed part of an altar, and since its lettering and workmanship belong to the late fourth or early third century, it probably was the front of a table-shaped altar erected for the Third Temple. *I.G.*, II², 4984. For other offerings, including two omphaloi, see *Hesp.* VI, pp. 110-113 and N. 3 on p. 113.

12. *Hesp.* VI, pp. 115-217, Figs. 61-125, Pls. VI-VIII; Judeich², pp. 343-345 (N. 10, p. 343, with bibliography).

13. *Hesp.* Suppl. IV, pp. 3-8, Figs. 3-6 (Building A); pp. 8-15, Figs. 7-12 (Buildings C, D, E).

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-33, Fig. 13, Pls. I-III (Building F).

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-44, Fig. 32.

16. Thuc. II, 15; Aristotle, *Pol. Ath.*, 3, 5; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 24; *Hesp.* Suppl. IV, p. 44, N. 30; Vanderpool, E., "Tholos and Prytanikon", *Hesp.* IV, pp. 470-475, Figs. 1, 2; Dow. S., "Prytaneis", *Hesp.* Suppl. I, pp. 1-258; pp. 27 ff.; Levi, D., "Il Pritaneo e la Tholos di Atene", *Annuario* VI-VII, pp. 1-25.

17. *Hesp.* VI, pp. 172-217, Figs. 101-125.

18. *Hesp.* VI, pp. 203-212; p. 204, Fig. 121 (votive relief); *I.G.*, I², 140; Arrian, *Anab.*, III, 16.8. For other similar reliefs cf. *Hesp.* IV, pp. 100 ff.; Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments*, pp. 43-53, Figs. 9-11; von Salis, A., "Die Göttermutter von Agorakritos", *Jahrbuch*, XXVIII, 1913, pp. 1-26, Abb. 1-10.

19. *Hesp.*, VI, pp. 140-172, Figs. 77-100, Pls. VI-VIII; pp. 212-214.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 160-167, Figs. 95-98.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 218-222, Fig. 126.

Chapter VI

For the excavation of the Tholos see Thompson, H. A., *The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors*, *Hesp.*, Supplementary Papers IV, and also incidental mention in current reports in *Hesperia*.

1. *Hesp.* Suppl. IV, pp. 137-141 (cults); inventory No. 1, 4745, Fig. 100; pp. 139 ff., Fig. 101 (torso).

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-92, Fig. 33 (Plan of present condition), Fig. 34 (Original Plan), Fig. 62 (Restored plan of area in fifth century, B.C.), Fig. 63 (ditto in first century A.D.); string course, pp. 50 ff., Figs. 39-43, Addendum 1; roof, pp. 65-72, Figs. 51-54; kitchen, pp. 73-84, Fig. 61; porch, pp. 48, 56-57, Figs. 47, 48 (restoration); chronology, pp. 126-137.

3. *Hesp.* VI, pp. 151-152, Fig. 87; Suppl. IV, pp. 46-47.

4. *Hesp.* Supp. IV, pp. 141-142; *Hesp.* IV, p. 346 ff., Figs. 5, 6; *I.G.*, II², 1013; *Hesp.* VII, p. 127, No. 27.
5. *Hesp.* Supp. IV, pp. 85-88 (wall); 96-98 (fountain); 94-95 (exedra).
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-105, Pl. I, Figs. 63, 75-79.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-121, Fig. 85 (restored plan).
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-126, Figs. 91-93.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 107-110, Fig. 80; *Hesp.* VIII, pp. 205-206, Fig. 4.

Chapter VII

1. *Hesp.* IV, p. 360; XI, p. 260; XVIII, pp. 133-134, 213-214, Pl. 37.3.
2. *Paus.*, I.14.1; *Thuc.* II, 15; Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 112-117; V, pp. 183-184; Harrison, *M. and M.*, pp. 87-91; Judeich², pp. 193 ff.; *Hesp.*, IV, p. 160; XI, p. 260; XVIII, p. 133. Excavations now in progress at the southeast corner of the Agora have revealed sixth-century walls belonging to a large complex including a fountain, evidently the Enneakrounos of Pausanias.
3. *Hesp.* VI, pp. 357-358, Fig. 1.
4. *Hesp.* IV, pp. 323-324, Figs. 10, 11; V, pp. 4-6, Figs. 2, 3; XVI, p. 200, Pl. XIII, 1, 2; XVII, pp. 151-153, Fig. 1, Pl. xxxviii, 1, 2, 3; XXI, pp. 86-90; Stevens, G. P., "A Tile Standard in the Agora of Ancient Athens", *Hesp.* XIX, pp. 174-188, Figs. 1-10, Pl. 82.
5. *Hesp.* IV, pp. 330 ff., Figs. 15-21; V, pp. 70-90, Figs. 1-17.
6. *Hesp.* IX, pp. 293-295; XVI, pp. 202-203; Stevens, G. P., "A Door-sill from the Library of Pantainos", *Hesp.* XVIII, pp. 269-274, Figs. 1, 2, Pl. 65; Parsons, A. W., "A Family of Philosophers at Athens and Alexandria", *Hesp.* Suppl. VIII, pp. 268-272, Pl. 26; Meritt, *Hesp.* XV, p. 233, No. 64.
7. *I.G.*, II², 317; Judeich², pp. 354-356; *Hesp.* XIX, pp. 316-326, Fig. 1, Pls. 98-102; XX, pp. 49-53, Pls. 24-27a.
8. *Hesp.* VIII, p. 213; VI, pp. 354-356, Figs. 18, 19.
9. *Hesp.* VIII, p. 213; XX, pp. 53-56, Pl. 27, b, c.
10. *Paus.* I, 15.1-16.1; Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 132-142; *M. and M.*, pp. 126-127; *AJA*, 1936, pp. 189-190, Fig. 2 (shields); *Hesp.* VI, pp. 347-348, Figs. 10-12; XVIII, p. 130, Fig. 1, (p. 136); XIX, pp. 327-329, Pl. 103, a.b.c. The general opinion was that the Stoa Poikilē stood on the northern side of the Agora. See Judeich², pp. 336-338 (with references). This view has been confirmed by the discovery of many architectural fragments near the Stoa of Attalos. Dörpfeld, however, identified the Stoa Poikilē with the building called the South Stoa by the excavators. *Alt. Ath.*, I, pp. 41, 70-71, 75-76, 114, 130-131.
11. Bryaxis base. Nat. Mus. No. 1733, references in Papaspyridi, *Guide*, p. 71; Richter, G. M. A., *S. and S.*, pp. 211-212, Figs. 723, 724; *Hesp.* VI, p. 7, N. 2; pp. 69-70 (herms).
12. *Paus.*, I.15.1; *M. and M.*, pp. 127-131.
13. *Hesp.* IV, pp. 355-358, Figs. 13-15; XVI, pp. 198-199, Pl. XLIX; Crosby, M., "The Altar of the Twelve Gods in Athens," Suppl. VIII, pp. 82-103, Figs. 1-7, Pls. 11-14.

14. Leagros Base, *Hesp.* IV, p. 357, Fig. 14; Raubitschek, A. E., "Leagros", *Hesp.* VIII, pp. 155-164, Fig. 1.
15. Nat. Museum, No. 1731, Papaspyridi, *Guide*, p. 65.

Chapter VIII

1. *Hesp.* VI, pp. 176-177, Figs. 103, 104; pp. 192-193; p. 217.
2. Paus. I.8.4; Arrian, *Anab.*, III, 16.8.
3. Dinsmoor, W. B., "The Temple of Arcs at Athens", *Hesp.* IX, pp. 1-52, Figs. 1-18 (very fully documented); pp. 43-48, Figs. 16-18 (profiles and detail).
4. *Hesp.* XX, pp. 56-59; altar, Pl. 29a, sculptures, Pls. 29 b, c, 30 d; XXI, pp. 93-95, Pls. 22^b, 23^a, 23^b.
5. *Hesp.* XIX pp. 32-144, Figs. 1-21, Pls. 16-80; preliminary reports, *Hesp.* IV, pp. 362 ff.; V, pp. 6-14; VI, p. 352; IX, pp. 304 ff.; XVI, p. 200 ff. First Period, *Hesp.*, XIX, pp. 37-98.
6. Second Period, *Hesp.*, XIX, pp. 99-133; Later buildings, pp. 134-137.
7. Arist., *Pol. Ath.*, 53.4; Paus., I.5.1.
8. Babin quoted in *M. and M.*, p. 65; Richter, *S. and S.*, pp. 193-194, Figs. 659-663; Richter, *Metropolitan Museum Handbook to the Classical Collection*, 1927, pp. 264-265; Judeich², p. 348, N. 3; Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 87-88.
9. *M. and M.*, pp. 70-74, with Decree of Stratokles; Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 88-89.
10. Paus. I.8.3; Plut., *Dem.*, 26; Richter, *S. and S.*, p. 223, Fig. 736 (Vatican copy).
11. Skolion, Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gk.*, III, pp. 646-647, Nos. 1290-1291; Professor Meritt disputes the attribution to Simonides, Professor Shear supported it. Aristophanes, *Vesp.*, 1225; *M. and M.*, p. 80. For the Base, see *Hesp.* V, pp. 355-358; VI, p. 352.
12. Statues, Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 92-99, Figs. 3-6; Richter, *S. and S.*, pp. 200-201, Figs. 565-577; Richter, "The Right Arm of Harmodios", *AJA*, 1928, pp. 1-8.

The exact copies are as follows: 1. marble group in the Museum at Naples; 2. torso of Aristogeiton in the Boboli Gardens at Florence; 3. head of Aristogeiton from the magazines of the Vatican; 4. head of Aristogeiton (so-called "Pherekydes") in Madrid; 5. head of Aristogeiton (so-called "Towneley") in the British Museum; 6. head of Harmodios in the Metropolitan Museum; 7. head of Harmodios in the Nat. Mus. Rome (formerly Mattei); 8. relief on a marble throne at Broomhall (Fife); 9. electron stater of Cyzicus (477-476); 10. Panathenaic amphora in Brit. Museum (c. 378-370); 11. fragment of black glazed vase with relief (3d-2d century B.C.); 12. red-figured fragment in Boston from grave of Dexileos (c. 394 B.C.); 13. red-figured oinochoe in Villa Giulia (similar to 12); 14. Würzburg stamnos (Copenhagen painter, 480-470 B.C.); 15. Scaramanga lekythos (B-F); 16. two Panathenaic amphorae in Hildesheim (4th century); 17. Attic tetradrachm (1st century B.C.); 18. two attic lead tokens "late".

In the above list Nos. 1-13 belong to the Kritias and Nesiotes group, Nos. 14-18 to the Antenor group. For additional copies see Waser, O., *AA*, 1922,

153-165, Abb. 1, 2; Kardara, Chrysoula P., "On Theseus and the Tyranicides", *AJA*, 1951, pp. 293-300, Pls. 21 B-23.

13. Stillwell, R., "Architectural Studies", *Hesp.* II, pp. 110-144; pp. 137-139, Figs. 21, 22; XVIII, pp. 129-132; XXI, pp. 91-92; Judeich², p. 348.

14. *Hesp.* II, pp. 140-148, Figs. 23-30; XXI, pp. 92-93, Pls. 21^a, 21^b.

15. *Hesp.* XXI, pp. 90-91, Pl. 20^b.

Chapter IX

Bibliographical material up to 1931 will be found in Judeich², pp. 365-368. For later excavations and discussions see Dinsmoor, W. B., "Observations on the Hephaisteion", *Hesp. Suppl.* V, 1941, pp. 1-171, Figs. 1-76 (very fully documented and indexed).

1. Young, Rodney S., "An Industrial District of Ancient Athens", *Hesp.* XX, pp. 135-288, Figs. 1-26, Pls. 55-85.

2. *Hesp.* V, pp. 23-24, Figs. 21-22; VI, pp. 364-369, Figs. 29-31; VII, p. 339; IX, p. 305.

3. Dinsmoor *Hesp. Suppl.* V, pp. 3-4; Plommer, W. H., "Three Attic Temples", *BSA*, XLV, pp. 66-112, Figs. 1-5, Pls. 7-9; Part I, The Hephaisteion, pp. 67-78, Pl. 7.

4. Dinsmoor, *ibid.*, pp. 30-57 (foundations); 47-57 (cross-walls); 36-37 (old views).

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-104; Stevens, G. P., "Some Remarks upon the Interior of the Hephaisteion", *Hesp.* XIX, pp. 143-164, Figs. 1-7; pp. 158-164, Fig. 7; Broneer, O., "Notes on the Interior of the Hephaisteion", *Hesp.* XIV, pp. 246-258, Fig. 1, pp. 251-258. Mr. Hill does not agree about the composition of the plaster (the two chemists consulted gave different analyses) nor does he believe the stucco on the walls was ever intended to be painted.

6. *Hesp. Suppl.* V, p. 104. The northwest wing of the Propylaea was also planned for wall-paintings, but since the walls were never finished the paintings described by Polemon and Pausanias must have been panel paintings. See Swindler, M. H., *Ancient Painting*, p. 424, note 14a for a fuller statement of Professor Dinsmoor's views.

7. Hill, B. H., "The Interior Colonnade of the Hephaisteion", *Hesp. Suppl.* VIII, pp. 190-208, Figs. 1-10, Pl. 21, p. 207, Fig. 9 (plan), Fig. 10 (section); Stevens, G. P., *Hesp.* XIX, pp. 143-149, Figs. 2, 3; Broneer, *Hesp.* XIV, pp. 246-251, Fig. 1; Dinsmoor, *Hesp. Suppl.* V, pp. 73-94, Figs. 30-35. Figs. 34 (plan) and 35 (section) give the incorrect restoration of 5 × 3 columns which is given also in his *AAG*, pp. 179-181, Fig. 67.

8. Dinsmoor, *Hesp. Suppl.* V, pp. 105-110, Figs. 38-40 (base); Stevens, *Hesp.* XIX, pp. 149-154, Figs. 4-6.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.

10. *I.G.*, I², 370-371; moulds, *Hesp.* VI, 342-344, Figs. 7, 8; *Hesp. Suppl.* V, pp. 109-110; *Cic. de Nat. Deor.*, I, 83; additional literary references, *Hesp. Suppl.* V, p. 110, N. 248. Restoration, Stevens, *Hesp.* XIX, pp. 154-157, Figs. 1, 4. Furtwaengler's combination of the torso from Cassel and the head from the Vatican wearing an artisan's cap have been adopted in the restoration. For

a different arrangement of the figures see Mrs. Karousou's forthcoming article in *Hesperia*.

11. Sauer, Bruno, *Das sogenannte Theseion und sein Plastischer Schmuck*, *passim*; see also N. 13 below.

12. *Hesp. Suppl. V*, pp. 117-118; Figs. 44-48.

13. Thompson, H. A., "The Pedimental Sculpture of the Hephaisteion", *Hesp. XVIII*, pp. 230-268, Figs. 1, 2, Pls. 48-64 (restoration, Pl. 63); female foot, *Hesp. Suppl. V*, pp. 118-120, Figs. 49-51; *Hesp. XVIII*, pp. 234-235, 241, Pl. 52.4, 5; hoof, *Hesp. Suppl. V*, pp. 120-122, Fig. 52; *Hesp. XVIII*, pp. 234, 240, Pl. 52.2; reclining figure, *ibid.*, pp. 233, 237-238, Pl. 49, 1-2; Athens, *ibid.*, pp. 234, 239-240, Pls. 51, 52.1; Hero, *ibid.*, pp. 233-234, 238-239, Pls. 49.3, 50.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 235-236, 241-243, Pls. 53-55.1-2; *Hesp. VI*, pp. 376-378, Fig. 42; *AJA*, 1936, pp. 407-409, Figs. 3, 4; *Hesp. Suppl. V*, p. 122.

15. Paus., I.14.6; *Hesp. Suppl. V*, pp. 1-3 (with many references).

16. *Hesp. VI*, pp. 14-15, 77, 82-83, Fig. 43; pp. 342-343, Figs. 7, 8; *Hesp. Suppl. IV*, pp. 3-8, Figs. 3-6; *Suppl. V*, pp. 109-110; *Hesp. XVII*, pp. 170 ff., Fig. 7; *XIX*, pp. 333-335.

17. *Hesp. Suppl. V*, pp. 128-150, Figs. 56-75.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 150-160 (many references).

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12, Fig. 7.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-15, Figs. 1-6; Protestant graves, pp. 17-30; Stone Chronicle, p. 15.

21. Thompson, D. B., "The Garden of Hephaistos", *Hesp. VI*, pp. 396-425, Figs. 1-19; early peribolos, pp. 396-398, Figs. 1, 2; second peribolos, pp. 400-401; garden, pp. 403 ff.

22. Three inscribed stelai with decrees of the fourth century (two of the Salaminians and one of the tribe Atlantis) found on the plateau south of the Hephaisteion add evidence confirming the site of this sanctuary, as two of them state that they are to be erected in the Eurysakcion. *Hesp. VI*, pp. 348-349; Judeich², p. 368; Ferguson, W. S., "The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion", *Hesp. VII*, pp. 1-74, Figs. 1, 2.

23. Travlos, J., "The West Side of the Athenian Agora Restored", *Hesp. Suppl. VIII*, pp. 382-393, Fig. 1.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 391, Fig. 2.

Chapter X

1. Paus. I, 17.2; Judeich², pp. 353-354.

2. Several statues may be identified as probable copies of this portrait. See Richter, G. M. A., "Two Hellenistic Portraits in the Metropolitan Museum", *AJA*, 1925, pp. 152-159, Figs. 1-8; *S. and S.*, Fig. 232.

3. Paus. I, 17.2-6; Dr. Dörpfeld placed the Heroon and the tomb of Theseus in the Agora in the building identified by the excavators as the Odeion, and he believed the Gymnasium of Ptolemy was to the south of it and was later remodelled and enlarged for the Roman Gymnasium now occupying the site. See *Alt Athen*, I, pp. 41, 44, 69-76, 114, 130-131.

The charming Red-Figured kylix signed by Euphronios represents the story

of the recovery of the ring as described by Bacchylides. The vase (Louvre G 104), formerly attributed to Euphronios as painter, is now recognised as the work of Euphronios as potter and attributed to the Panaitios painter (510-490 B.C.) by Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 10 (38), p. 214.

4. Paus. I, 18.1; Harrison, *M. and M.*, pp. 151 ff., Figs. 30-37 for some illustrations in art; Deubner, L., *Attische Feste*, pp. 252-253, Pls. 38, 39, Nos. 24-34.

5. Paus. I, 14.1-4; *Hesp.* VIII, pp. 207-211, Figs. 6-9; IX, p. 368; XVIII, p. 134; Jeffery, L. M., "The Boustrophedon Sacred Inscriptions from the Agora," XVII, pp. 88-111, Pls. 29-32. For other opinions about its site see Judeich², pp. 287 ff.

6. Broneer, O., "The Thesmophorion in Athens," *Hesp.* XI, pp. 250-274 (very fully documented). For the festival see *M. and M.*, pp. XXXIV-V, 102-105; *Prolegomena*, pp. 120-131.

7. Philostratos, *Vit. Soph.*, II, 1.5, and 5.7; Frazer, II, pp. 273 ff.; *M. and M.*, p. 93; *Hesp.* VIII, p. 207; XVIII, pp. 134-136.

8. Parsons, A. W., "Klepsydra and the Paved Court of the Pythion," *Hesp.* XII, pp. 191-267, Figs. 1-42. This monograph collects most of the relevant material and is very fully documented.

9. Empedo, the former name of the spring according to Hesychios, may well have been taken from its patron deity. *Hesp.* XII, pp. 201 ff.; 232-233.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 193, Figs. 19-21; pp. 250-251.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 208-222, Figs. 9-18, slabs, pp. 239-240.

12. The most complete account is Keramopoulos, A. D., "Ἐπὶ τὰ Προπύλαια τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως," *Αρχ. Δελτ.*, 1929, 71-101, σκ. 1. Earlier report, Kavvadias, P., *Αρχ. Δελτ.*, 1897, cols. 1-32, Πλτ. 1. Summary, Harrison, *Primitive Athens*, pp. 67-82, Figs. 21, 22; *M. and M.*, pp. 538-551, Figs. 1-11.

13. Keramopoulos, *l. c.*, pp. 89 ff.

14. Thuc. II, 15; *I.G.*, I², 761; Eurip. *Ion*, 8 ff., 283 ff.; 492 ff.; 936 ff. *Hesp.* XII, pp. 233-238. An inscribed road-sign reading "Marker of the Sacred Road by which the Pythais proceeds to Delphi" was found in 1928 west of the Stoa of Attalos close to the Panathenaic Street. It had been re-used as a door-sill after having been taken from its original position, *Hesp.* VIII, p. 212; XII, p. 237, Fig. 23.

15. Paus. I, 18.2; Judeich², pp. 303-304; Frazer, II, p. 344; For the Arrephoroi, Aglauros and Erichthonios see Harrison, *M. and M.* xxvi-xxxvi, Fig. 4; *Ibid.*, *Prolegomena*, pp. 131-134, Fig. 13; Ferguson, W. S., *Hesp.* VII, p. 21.

16. Broneer, O., "Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis in Athens, 1931-1932," *Hesp.* II, pp. 329-417, Figs. 1-91, Pl. XI; for 1933-1934, *Hesp.* IV, pp. 109-188, Figs. 1-77, Pl. I; for 1907, *Hesp.* VII, pp. 161-263, Figs. 1-88, Pl. I; peripatos inscription, *Hesp.* II, pp. 347-350, Fig. 19; Eros sanctuary, pp. 330-347, Figs. 1-18.

17. Exekias kylix, *Hesp.* VI, pp. 469-486, Figs. 1-10; *AJA*, 1933, pp. 160-164, Pl. XVI; inscriptions, *Hesp.* IV, pp. 148-188, Nos. 1-77, Figs. 38-77 (Broneer); VII, pp. 264-310, Nos. 1-33, Figs. 1-35 (Schweigert); Athene Promachos, No. 2; Erechtheion, No. 3; Opisthodomos, No. 7; terracotta figurines, *Hesp.* IV, pp. 189-213, Figs. 1-15 (Morgan); pottery, *ibid.*, pp. 214-302, Figs. 1-49 (Pease); ostraka, *Hesp.* VII, pp. 228-243, Figs. 60-71. For the subject of

ostraka, see Vanderpool, "Some Ostraka from the Agora", *Hesp. Suppl.* VIII, pp. 395-412, Figs. 1-10, Pls. 57-60.

18. Judeich², pp. 304-305; Frazer, II, pp. 172 ff.; *M. and M.*, pp. xxxiii ff., 512-513; Vanderpool, *Hesp.* IV, pp. 470-475 (cf. Chapter V, N. 16); Dow, S., "Prytaneis", *Hesp. Suppl.* I, pp. 1-258 (chiefly inscriptions).

19. Broneer, O., "The Cave on the East Slope of the Acropolis", *Hesp.* V; site, pp. 247-253, Figs. 1-4; pottery, pp. 254-272, Figs. 1-23 (Pease).

20. Paus. I, 18.4; *M. and M.*, pp. 185-188; Judeich², pp. 92, 380; Dow, S., "The Egyptian Cults in Athens", *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XXX, pp. 182-232, *passim*. A bust of Serapis was found near this same area in 1933, *Hesp.* IV, pp. 397-398, Fig. 24.

21. Paus. I, 18.5; Judeich², p. 380; Frazer, II, p. 177; *M. and M.*, pp. 185-188; Amnisos cave, Marinatos, S., "Τὸ Σπήλιον Ἐλευθερίας", Πρακτικά, 1929, pp. 95-104, Figs. 1-8; *AJA*, 1930, pp. 391-392; *AA*, 1930, 156-157, Abb. 32. *BCH*, 1924, pp. 247-263, Figs. 16-22; pp. 411-445; *Délos*, V, Ch. III, 1, "Le Tombeau Mycénien", pp. 63-74, Figs. 81-93. It can hardly be a mere coincidence that at the places in Delos where Herodotos says the pairs of Hyperborean Maidens were buried there exist very ancient enclosures containing burials and offerings. Although their contents show their archaeological connections to be Mediterranean and not Northern, in the long lapse of time tradition might naturally connect them with the mysterious people from the Back of the North Wind.

Chapter XI

1. Judeich², pp. 305-306, full references in N. 1, p. 306; Philadelphus, A. T., "Ἀνασκαφή παρὰ τὸ Ἀνακράτειον Μνημεῖον", *Αρχ. Ἔφ.*, 1921, pp. 83-97, Fig. 1 (plan).

2. Stuart, J. and Revett, N., *The Antiquities of Athens* II, Chapter IV, pp. 27-36, Pls. I-XXVI; *M. and M.*, pp. 241-253, Figs. 1-5 with a delightful illustration of the frieze, Fig. 3, and its interpretation; Judeich², pp. 305-306; Dinsmoor, *AAG*, pp. 236-238, Pls. LIX, LX.

3. Sketch plane of temenos, Judeich², p. 308, Fig. 39; Pickard-Cambridge, Fig. 2, Pl. I.

4. Paus., I, 20.3; Dörpfeld and Reisch, pp. 13-14, Fig. 1; Pickard-Cambridge, p. 305, Fig. 3 (after Dörpfeld).

5. Paus., I, 29.2; Frazer, II, pp. 379-380; 215; *M. and M.*, pp. 254, 571. See also Chapter XX, p. 220, N. 7.

6. Dörpfeld and Reisch, pp. 19-23, Figs. 4, 5; Pickard-Cambridge, pp. 28-29, Pl. I; statue, Frazer, II, p. 216, Fig. 9; paintings, Pickard-Cambridge, pp. 28-29, N. 1, many illustrations through the text; *M. and M.*, pp. 256-260, Figs. 8-12; Bieber, p. 123, thinks they were in the Hall.

7. Stuart and Revett, *op. cit.*, II, Chapter IV, pp. 29 ff., Pls. I-VI; *M. and M.*, pp. 266-270, Figs. 13, 14, 15 (the two last from Stuart's drawings); Judeich², p. 315; Welter, G., "Das Choregische Denkmal des Thrasyllus", *AA*, 1938, pp. 33-68, Abb. 1-41; Dinsmoor, *AAG*, pp. 239-240, Fig. 87.

8. Thrasyllus inscription, *IG*, II², 3056; Thrasykles, *IG*, II², 3083.

9. Welter, *AA*, 1938, pp. 48-56, Fig. 39 (restored with tripod); Judeich², p. 315, agrees that the attic was a later addition; Frazer, II, p. 231, thinks the entire monument, including the statue of Dionysos, was dedicated by Thra-sylos. Statue, *B.M. Cat. Sculpture*, I, pp. 257-259, No. 432.

10. Paus. I, 21.3.

11. Judeich², pp. 318-319, N. 1; Dinsmoor, W. B., "The Choragic Monu-ment of Nikias", *AJA*, 1910, pp. 459-484, Figs. 1-11; *Ibid.*, *AAG*, pp. 238-239.

12. *IG*, II, 3055. See also Chapter XVII, p. 183, N. 7.

13. Dörpfeld, *AM*, 1885, pp. 219-230, Pl. VII; *M. and M.*, pp. 344-349.

14. Pickard-Cambridge, p. 29.

15. Vitruv., V. 9; Andocides, I.38.

16. Judeich², pp. 306-308, Figs. 38, 39; Pickard-Cambridge, pp. 1-3, Figs. 1, 2; *Eph. Arch.*, 1922, pp. 25-38; *AA*, 1932, pp. 123-124; 1933, p. 193; Welter, *AM*, 1922, pp. 72-77; Broneer, O., "The Tent of Xerxes and the Greek Theater", *Univ. of Calif. Studies in Classical Archaeology*, I, pp. 305-311. Philadelphus, *l.c.*, p. 93, attributes the three thrones, Figs. 16-19 to the Odeion of Perikles. Professor Dinsmoor's important article "The Athenian Theater of the Fifth Century", *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson*, St. Louis, 1951, pp. 309-330, Figs. 1-3, reached me too late for use in the text. For the relation of the Odeion to the Theatre see pp. 313, 317, 326, 330 and Fig. 2.

17. Judeich², pp. 325-326; Frazer, II, pp. 240-241.

18. Philostratos, *Vit. Soph.*, II, 1.8; Paus. VII, 20.6; Judeich², pp. 326-328; Frazer, II, pp. 241-242; Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*; pp. 92-93, 218-224, Figs. 23-26.

Chapter XII

The best recent work on the subject is Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysos in Athens*, which sums up and interprets the important publications. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre*, especially Chapters V on the Classical Period, VI on Scenery, and IX on the Hellenistic Theatre, is also invaluable.

The following chapter is not concerned with the question of the production of plays (fully discussed in the works mentioned above) but simply with the extant material remains. Controversial discussions about their interpretation have been avoided as far as possible.

1. Pickard-Cambridge, pp. 5-9, Figs. 4-6; Dörpfeld and Reisch, *Das Griechische Theater*, pp. 26-28, Fig. 6; *M. and M.*, pp. 271-295, Figs. 17-34 (based on Dörpfeld's views); Dinsmoor, *AAG*, pp. 119-120; Bieber, pp. 99-103, Figs. 145, 146; Judeich², pp. 308-319 for summary of Theatre area.

2. Pickard-Cambridge, pp. 10-15; Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 120, N. 1.

3. Pickard-Cambridge, Chapters II and III, *passim*; Agatharchos, pp. 124-125; Vitruv. VII, *praef.* par. 11; Aristotle, *Poet.*, Ch. IV; Bieber, pp. 107-111.

4. Pickard-Cambridge, pp. 15-24, Fig. 7; Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-210.

5. Pickard-Cambridge, pp. 24-27. For Fiechter's view that the Hall was a Skenotheke see Bieber, pp. 106 ff., Figs. 152, 153. It is disputed by Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, pp. 208, N. 3, 209, N. 5 and by many others as well.

6. Pickard-Cambridge, Chap. IV, Fig. 52 (general plan); auditorium, pp. 138-148, Figs. 35-38; thrones, Figs. 39-43, Delos thrones, Figs. 42-43; *M. and M.*, pp. 272-278, Fig. 19 (detailed plan of seats), Fig. 20 (thrones); Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-249.
7. Pickard-Cambridge, pp. 144-147; Broneer, "The ΟΧΕΤΟΣ in the Greek Theatre", in *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps*, 1936, pp. 29-41.
8. Pickard-Cambridge, pp. 148-156, Figs. 46-52.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 147-148; Astydamos base, pp. 135-136, Fig. 34; Menander base, *I.G.*, II², 3777, *M. and M.*, pp. 264-265; Frazer, Pausanias, II, p. 228.
10. Pickard-Cambridge, Chapter V, Figs. 59, 60; date, pp. 178-182; Ariobarzanes inscription, p. 247; Bieber, Ch. IX.
11. Pickard-Cambridge, Chapter VI, Fig. 123; inscription, pp. 247-249, Fig. 122; skene, pp. 249-256, Fig. 124 (columns); orchestra, pp. 257-259; Bieber, pp. 385-387, Figs. 505-507.
12. Pickard-Cambridge, pp. 259-261 (bema); reliefs, pp. 261-263, Figs. 137, 138; auditorium and statues, pp. 263-264, Figs. 139-141; Bieber, pp. 387-390, Figs. 508-510.

Chapter XIII

The most important recent studies in this area are Keramopoulos, A. D., "Τὸ Πελαργικόν, τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον, αἱ Ὁδοὶ αἱ Ἀνάγουσαι πρὸς τὰ Προπόλεια", *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1934-1935, pp. 85-116, Figs. 1-7, Pls. 1-3; Travlos, J. N., "Ἡ Παλαιохριστιανικὴ Βασιλικὴ τοῦ Ἀσκληπείου τῶν Ἀθηνῶν", *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1939-1941, pp. 35-68, Figs. 1-21, referred to below only by the surnames of the authors. For earlier accounts see D'Ooge, *The Acropolis of Athens*, pp. 250-258, Figs. 109-113, Plan VI; Frazer, *Pausanias*, Vol. II, pp. 234-239.

1. Keramopoulos, *passim*, Pinax 1 (our Fig. 20, by Travlos).
2. *I.G.*, I², 874; Travlos, p. 60; Keramopoulos, p. 96; Wrede, W., *Attische Mauern*, p. 8, Figs. 14, 15; Judeich², p. 190.
3. Travlos, pp. 39 ff., Fig. 4; Judeich², p. 320, N. 3 (with bibliography).
4. Allen, Gordon and Caskey, L. D., "The East Stoa in the Asclepieum at Athens", *AJA*, 1911, pp. 32-43, Figs. 1-4, Pls. I-V, Travlos, pp. 37-38, Figs. 2, 3.
5. Travlos, pp. 42-44; cf. Ch. XV, p. 157, N. 6. The site of the building has not been identified.
6. Travlos, pp. 54 ff., Figs. 4, 15, 17.
7. "Fouilles, 1943-1945", *BCH*, 1944-1945, pp. 434-439, Figs. 8-12; Martin, R., and Metzger, H., "Recherches d'Architecture et de Topographie à l'Asklépieion d'Athènes", *BCH*, 1949, pp. 316-350, Figs. 1-13, Pls. XIV-XVIII, E. Portico, pp. 316-329, topography, pp. 340-350. The authors believe that the terrace with the *bothros* (always referred to in inverted commas) was an integral part of the Stoa and that the method of construction, the use of conglomerate and Hymettos marble and the lack of any material evidence—sherds, bones, burnt matter—inside the *bothros* indicate that it must be no older than the Stoa. The restoration provides for inner stairs from both storeys to the terrace and the use of the four columns round the *bothros* as supports for the roof.

8. Travlos, pp. 38 ff., Figs. 4, 15, 19.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57; 60, N. 3.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-68.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-62, Fig. 18 (our Fig. 21).

12. Travlos, p. 60, N. 1; p. 47; Levenson, M. and E., "Inscriptions on the south slope of the Acropolis", *Hesp.* XVI, 1947, pp. 63-74, Fig. 1, Pl. XII, p. 67.

13. Travlos, p. 53; p. 60, N. 2; Martin, R., "Chapiteaux Ioniques de l'Asklépieion d'Athènes", *BCH*, 1944-1945, pp. 340-374, Figs. 1-11, Pls. XXVI-XXXIII; Thompson, H. A., *Hesp.* VI, p. 45, N. 2, agrees to an early date, as does Martin, p. 352.

14. Keramopoulos, p. 109, Pinax 1, Nos. 29, 30; Judeich², p. 323.

15. Judeich, p. 323; Picard, C., *L'Acropole*, II, pp. 78-79. For the supposed appearance of the temple façade see also Walter, O., "Ein neugewonnenes Athener Doppelrelief", *Jahreshefte d. Oestr.* 1930, pp. 75-104, Abb. 54 (p. 93).

16. There are, however, several walls (terrace walls 9, 12, 13, 14 and wall 20a) which apparently are earlier. For a discussion of them see Keramopoulos, pp. 97, 106; Travlos, pp. 59 ff.

17. *I.G.*, II², 4960; Travlos, pp. 59-61, Pl. 18; Keramopoulos, pp. 92 ff.

18. *I.G.*, II², 1046; Travlos, p. 62; Keramopoulos, 108 ff.

19. *I.G.*, I², 76; Keramopoulos, pp. 90 ff., N. 3 (p. 90); Travlos, p. 60, N. 5.

20. Travlos, p. 62.

21. Paus., I.22, 1-3; Frazer, II, pp. 243-244; Judeich², p. 324, N. 6 (bibl.).

22. Keramopoulos, pp. 110 ff.; cf. *Arch. Delt.*, 1929, p. 73.

23. *I.G.*, II², 4596; Harrison, *Primitive Athens*, p. 107, Fig. 34 (doves); *I.G.*, II², 657; Harrison, *P.A.*, p. 108 (Euthios, Hegesipyle); Frazer, II, pp. 245-246.

24. *I.G.*, II², 5183; *I.G.*, II², 1356; Harrison, *Primitive Athens*, p. 109, N. 4; Judeich², pp. 285-286; Keramopoulos, *Arch. Delt.*, 1929, pp. 73-86; Elderkin, G. W., "The Hero on a Sandal", *Hesp.* X, pp. 381-387, Figs. 1-3.

In Greek "Blauté" means "sandal" and it seems sometimes to have been used as a canting symbol for Aphrodite with that epithet. Aphrodite with a sandal is familiar in Hellenistic groups where she punishes Eros with her slipper or where she protects herself against attack, but Professor Keramopoulos thinks that these more or less genre representations were derived from a serious conception of Aphrodite Blauté as a chastising or purifying deity.

It is difficult to see any essential connection between Aphrodite Blauté and a relief (Nat. Mus. 2565) which portrays a man before whom stands an erect serpent, while in the field above is represented a large sandal in relief. There is nothing to indicate the deity to whom the dedication was made.

25. For additional inscriptions and further discussion of these cults see Harrison, *Primitive Athens*, pp. 82-83; 105-110; Keramopoulos, *Arch. Delt.*, 1929, pp. 73-86; Oliver, J. H., *Hesp.* IV, pp. 62-63; Broneer, O., *Hesp.*, I, pp. 52-53; XI, pp. 260 ff.; Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 246-248.

26. Keramopoulos, *Arch. Eph.*, 1934-1935, pp. 89 ff.; Frazer, II, pp. 355-358; Judeich², pp. 113 ff. For an excellent summary of Professor White's article on the Pelasgikon, "Πελαργικόν", *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1894, pp. 25, see D'Ooge, *The Acropolis of Athens*, Appendix II, pp. 361-368.

27. Thuc., II, 17; Keramopoullou, *Eph. Arch.*, 1934-1935, p. 90 ff. (See also footnote 19 *ante*).

28. Keramopoullou, *op. cit.*, *passim*, especially pp. 85 ff.; 116, Fig. 2 (p. 91) gives an air view of the Acropolis and vicinity.

Chapter XIV

For comprehensive lists of books on the Acropolis see Judeich², pp. 206-208; Dinsmoor, *AAG*, pp. 357-360; Jahn-Michaelis, *Arx Athenarum*, for ancient sources; Balanos, N., *Les Monuments de l'Acropole, Relèvement et Conservation*, for official work of reconstruction. See also the appropriate pages of Frazer, *M. and M.*, Judeich, Picard, D'Ooge for Chapters XIV-XVII.

Many important publications on the Acropolis have been in the Journals, such as those of Dörpfeld in *AM* and of Stevens and Dinsmoor in *AJA* and *Hesperia*. Particularly useful for all chapters on the Acropolis are Stevens, "The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis of Athens", *Hesperia* V, pp. 443-520, Figs. 1-66 and Frontispiece; *The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon*, *Hesperia* Suppl. III, pp. 1-91, Figs. 1-66 and Frontispiece; "The Northeast Corner of the Parthenon", *Hesperia* XV, pp. 1-26, Figs. 1-23; "Architectural Studies Concerning the Acropolis of Athens", *ibid.*, pp. 73-106, Figs. 1-25. Mr. Stevens's Model of the Acropolis, our Pl. II, and Key Plan, our Fig. 22, should be used for Chapters XIV-XVIII. See Stevens, "The Plaster Model of the Acropolis of Athens; Restoration of the end of the First Century A.D.", *BCH*, 1946, pp. 557-559, Pls. XXVII, XXVIII, for a brief history of its making. Lawrence, A. W., "The Acropolis and Persepolis", *JHS*, 1951, pp. 111-119, Figs. 1-3 (Figs. 1 and 2 after Stevens) gives an interesting comparison.

1. Wiegand, Theodor, *Die Archaische Poros Architektur der Akropolis*, *passim*; Dickinson, G., *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, I, Archaic Sculpture, pp. 57-90 (early poros); Karo, *Greek Personality in Archaic Sculpture*, Ch. VII, Attic Archaic Sculpture; Broneer, "The Head of Herakles in the Pediment of the Old Temple of Athens", *Hesp.* VIII, pp. 92-100, Figs. 1-6, Coloured Plate facing p. 91.

2. Kavvadias and Kawerau, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60, ΠΙV A (general plan), pp. 71-90, ΠΙV Γ (Old Temple).

3. Dinsmoor, "The Hekatompedon on the Athenian Acropolis", *AJA*, 1947, pp. 109-151, Figs. 1-12, Pls. XXVII, XXVIII; pp. 113 ff., Fig. 1 (after Dörpfeld); *Ibid.*, "The Correlation of Greek Archaeology and History", in *Studies in the History of Culture* (cited as *Culture*), pp. 202-205.

4. Frazer, "The Pre-Persian Temple on the Acropolis", Appendix to Vol. II, pp. 553-582; *M. and M.*, pp. 495 ff.; *AJA*, 1947, p. 110, N. 6-9; 1932, p. 308, N. 7, 8, pp. 311-312.

5. Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1932, pp. 314 ff., for many references.

6. *I.G.*², I, 3-4; *AJA*, 1947, pp. 118 ff., N. 38; *Culture*, pp. 205 ff.

7. *AJA*, 1947, pp. 123-124.

8. Dinsmoor, "The Burning of the Opisthodomos at Athens", *AJA*, 1932, pp. 143-172, Figs. 1, 2; pp. 307-320, Figs. 1-4; Dörpfeld, "Der Brand des alten Athena-Tempels und seiner Opisthodomos", *AJA*, 1934, pp. 249-257 (answer to Dinsmoor); Kallias Decrees, *I.G.*², I, 91, 92; *AJA*, 1947, pp. 127 ff.; Wade-Gery, H. T. and Meritt, B.D., "The Decrees of Kallias", *Hesp.* XVI, pp.

279-296. They retain the generally accepted date 434 B.C. and not 438 B.C. as proposed by Dinsmoor. See also *infra*, N. 12.

9. Dickinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-176, Nos. 631 A-F; Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, pp. 52-54, Pls. 35.1-2, 36, 37, 38.1-2, 6, 119.3-4 (Niké), 132 (lion); Schrader, H., *Die archaischen Marmorbild werke der Akropolis, passim*; giant gable, I, pp. 345-387, Abb. 405-499; II, Taf. 185-197.

10. *AJA*, 1947, pp. 140-151, Figs. 7-12, Pl. XXVIII.3.

11. Dinsmoor, "The Date of the Older Parthenon", *AJA*, 1934, pp. 408-448, Figs. 1-12 (with very full references to earlier publications); *Culture*, pp. 205 ff.; Dörpfeld, "Der ältere Parthenon", *AM*, 1892, pp. 158-189, Abb. 1-5, Taf. VIII, IX; "Die Zeit des älteren Parthenon", *AM*, 1902, pp. 379-416, Abb. 1-6, Taf. XIII, XIV; Hill, B.H., "The Older Parthenon", *AJA*, 1912, pp. 535-558, Figs. 1-21, Pls. VIII, IX; Tschira, A., "Zum Brand vom Parthenon II", *AA*, 1939, 38-47, Abb. 1-3; *Ibid.*, "Die unfertigen Säulentrommeln auf der Akropolis in Athens", *Jahrb.*, 1940, pp. 242-261, Abb. 1-9, Beil. I.

12. Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1947, pp. 124-127; 138-140, Figs. 3, 4, 6; Wade-Gery, "The Financial Decrees of Kallias", *JHS*, 1931, pp. 57-85, Pls. I-III, thinks (pp. 76 ff.) that the Opisthodomos was a building west of the Parthenon and east of the Braurionion, along the south wall of the Acropolis, built early in the Peloponnesian War to hold treasure during the evacuation of Attica, that it was burnt between 389 and 367 B.C. and the name was transferred to the whole western end of the Parthenon, and that the Chalkotheke was built upon the old site where Professor Dinsmoor believes the οἰκίσματα to have stood (see *AJA*, 1947, p. 122 Fig. 3).

13. Weller, C. H., "The Pre-Periclean Propylon of the Acropolis at Athens", *AJA*, 1904, pp. 35-70, Figs. 1-4, Pls. I-VI; *Ibid.*, *Athens and its Monuments*, pp. 226-229, Figs. 134-137; Stevens, *Hesp.* XV, pp. 77-83, Figs. 4, 6; Dinsmoor, *AAG*, p. 198; *Ibid.*, *Culture*, pp. 185-216; pp. 206 ff.

14. Stevens, *Hesp.* XV, pp. 80-81; Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1947, p. 119 and N. 42; p. 148; *Ibid.*, *Culture*, pp. 207-208.

15. Judeich², pp. 219-220, Abb. 23; Stevens, *Hesp.* XV, pp. 77 ff., Fig. 4; Welter, G., "Vom Nikepyrgos", *AM*, 1923, pp. 190-201, Taf. IV, V; *AA*, 1939, 1-22, Abb. 1-11; 1940, 143 ff., Abb. 18-24; Oikonomos, G., "Ἡ ἐν τῇς Ἀκροπόλεως Λατρεῖα τῇς Ἀθηνῶς Νίκης", *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1939-1941, pp. 97-110, *etc.* 1-4. These early remains have been left accessible.

16. Raubitschek, A. E., *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis*, pp. 359-364, No. 329 and unnumbered illustrations on pp. 361-364.

17. Stevens, *Hesp.* Suppl. III, pp. 79-86, Figs. 60, 66; *Hesp.* XV, pp. 12-15, Figs. 3, 17, 18 (Zeus); pp. 21-25, Figs. 22, 23 (Pandion). For the festival of Zeus see Frazer, II, pp. 303-304; *M. and M.*, pp. 427-428; Elderkin, G. W., "Studies in Early Athenian Cult", III, in *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, pp. 114 ff.; Temero, B., "Culto Miceneo dell' Acropoli", *Ann.*, IV-V, pp. 1-11, Figs. 1-5.

18. Kavvadias, *Fouilles de l'Acropole*, pp. 6 ff., Pl. I; *Arch. Eph.*, 1886, pp. 75 ff.; *P.A.*, pp. 15-16 (with many references).

19. *P.A.*, pp. 16-22, Figs. 5-9 (good summary of excavations); Dickinson, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 1-29 (excavation and chronology); Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1934, *passim*, and especially pp. 416-441, Figs. 1, 2; Kolbe, W., "Die Neugestaltung der Akropolis nach den Perserkriegen", *Jahrb.*, 1936, pp. 1-64, Abb. 1-43.

Chapter XV

1. Plut. *Per.*, XII-XIV, XVII; Dinsmoor, *Hesp.* Suppl. V, pp. 157-160; Leland, pp. 215-216.

2. Jahn-Michaelis, *Arx*, VIII, Fig. 1; Judeich², pp. 247-256; *M. and M.*, Chapter XVIII; D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, pp. 85 ff., Fig. 35; Dinsmoor, *AAG*, pp. 159-179; Robertson, D. S., *Handbook*², pp. 112-116, Fig. 49, Pl. IVa; Beccati, G., *Problemi Fidiaci*, II Partenone, pp. 73-108, Tav. 13-61; Dinsmoor, "The Repair of the Athena Parthenos", *AJA*, 1934, pp. 100-101; *AAG*, p. 163, N. 3 (thinks there were twenty-three columns in each level). Mr. Stevens has shown that there were piers at the angles of the interior colonnades and that there was an arrangement for a shallow pool in front of the statue. Stevens, *Hesp.* Suppl. III, pp. 67-79, Figs. 54-57 (grilles), 58 (west door, details), pp. 57-66, Figs. 42-66 (decoration); Stevens, "Concerning the Curvature of the Steps of the Parthenon", *AJA*, 1934, pp. 533-542, Figs. 1-8, Pl. XXXVII; Hill, B. H., and Meritt, B. D., "An early Athenian Decree concerning Tribute" (found in the south jamb of the east door), *Hesp.* XIII, pp. 1-15, Figs. 1-3.

3. Dinsmoor, "Attic Building Accounts", *AJA*, 1913, pp. 50-80, Fig. 10, Pls. II-IV (Parthenon); pp. 242-265, Figs. 1-3 (Erechtheion); pp. 371-398, Fig. 1 (Propylaea); Tod, *GHI*, Nos. 52 (Parthenon), 53 (Propylaea).

4. For the extant remains see *A Catalogue of the Sculptures of the Parthenon in the British Museum*, pp. 19-38, Nos. 303 A-O (east pediment); pp. 38-55, Nos. 304 A-W (west pediment); pp. 55-74, Nos. 305-323 (metopes); pp. 74-129, Nos. 324, 1-61; Casson, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, II, pp. 1-11; 39-74 (pediments); 74-101 (metopes); 101-139 (frieze); National Museum, Nos. 200-202, *Guide*, p. 75; Eleusis Museum, Nos. 19, 20, 21. Frazer, II, pp. 304-320, Figs. 25-32; *M. and M.*, pp. 431-440, Figs. 38-42 (E pediment); 440-445, Figs. 43-46 (W pediment); Judeich², pp. 247-256; special studies include Carpenter, R., "The Lost Statues of the East Pediment of the Parthenon", *Hesp.* II, pp. 1-88, Figs. 1-31, Pls. I, II; "New Material for the West Pediment of the Parthenon", *Hesp.* I, pp. 1-30, Figs. 1-14, Pls. I-III; Wegner, M., "Peplos Statue aus dem Ostgiebel des Parthenon", *AM*, 1932, pp. 92 ff., Abb. 1-10, Taf. I, II, Beil. XVII, XVIII; Beccati, G., *Problemi Fidiaci*, II Frontone Occidentale, pp. 43-51, Tav. 4-7.

5. Stevens, "The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis of Athens", *Hesp.* V, pp. 443-520, Figs. 1-66, Frontispiece (Perspective view); pp. 474-479, Figs. 28-34 (propylon); pp. 472-474, Fig. 26; *Hesp.* Suppl. III, pp. 24-40, Figs. 20-31 (steps); Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1947, pp. 135-137, and N. 141 disagrees; Stevens, *Hesp.* V, pp. 480-482; *Hesp.* Suppl. III, pp. 41-57, Figs. 32-41 (terrace).

6. Jahn-Michaelis, *Arx*, pp. 55-60 (sources); Frazer, II, pp. 312-320 (list of copies), Figs. 28-30; *M. and M.*, pp. 445-462, Figs. 47-58; Judeich², p. 252, N. 1; 253, N. 6; Perry, A. L., "The Dimensions of the Athena Parthenos", *AJA*, 1896, pp. 335-346. Additional Copies, Robinson, D. M., "Two Corinthian Copies of the Head of Athena Parthenos", *AJA*, 1911, pp. 482-503, list, pp. 499-503, Figs. 1-5; Shear, T. L., *AJA*, 1924, pp. 117-119, Pls. III, IV; *Hesp.* IV, pp. 371-373, Figs. 1-3; IX, pp. 320-321, No. 32; VIII, pp. 176 ff.; Schrader, "Eine neue Statuette der Athena Parthenos", *AA*, 1932, 87-97, Abb. 1-3; A headless marble copy, of excellent Roman workmanship, found at Gortyna

in 1950 is now in the Museum at Herakleion, *Bollettino d'Arte*, N. IV, Oct.-Dec. 1951, p. 22, Fig. 49. Schrader, *Pheidias*, Ch. II, pp. 43-44, Abb. 4-7, 8 b, c, 9-12; pp. 54-55, Abb. 25-27; Lehmann-Hartleben, K., "Die Athena Parthenos des Phidias", *Jahrb.*, 1932, pp. 12-16, Abb. 1-18; Becatti, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-124, Tav. 62-69; Schweitzer, B., "Pheidias, der Parthenonmeister", *Jahrb.*, 1940, pp. 170-241, Abb. 1-60. Richter, *TCP*, pp. 10-12, Fig. 62 (Parthenos), Figs. 10-14 (shield); Richter, *S. and S.*, pp. 217-220, Figs. 595, 597-605; Strangford Shield, *B.M. Cat.*, 302; new fragments, *AA*, 1931, 224-227, Abb. 6-10; *AJA*, 1931, p. 91; *I.L.N.*, 31 January, 1931; Locwy, "Das Schildrelief der Parthenos", *Jahr. d. Oestr.*, 1933, pp. 62-68, Abb. 27-32; von Salis, A., "Die Giganten am Schilde der Athena Parthenos", *Jahrb.*, 1940, pp. 90-169, Abb. 1-36, Taf. I, II; Schrader, "Zu den Kopien nach dem Schildrelief der Athena Parthenos", *Corolla Ludwig Curtius*, pp. 81-88, Taf. 17-21; Ras, S., "L'Amazonomachie du Bouclier de l'Athéna Parthénos", *BCH*, 1944-1945, pp. 163-205; Stavropoulos, Ph.D., "Η Ἀσπίς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Παρθένου τοῦ Φειδίου", *passim*; Expenses, Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1913, p. 70; 1934; pp. 93-106, Figs. 1-4; "The Final Account of the Athena Parthenos", *Arch. Eph.*, 1937, B, pp. 507-511; Schweigert, *Hesp.* VIII, pp. 175-176, No. 5; Meritt, B. D., *Athenian Financial Documents*, Chapter III, The Accounts of the Gold and Ivory Statue, pp. 30-41; Ferguson, W. S., *The Treasurers of Athena*, p. 87, N. 1.

7. Dinsmoor, "The Repair of the Athena Parthenos; a Story of Five Dowels", *AJA*, 1924, pp. 93-106, Figs. 1-4; Stevens, *Hesp.* V, p. 485, Fig. 38. Goethert, F., "Zur Athena Parthenos", *Jahrb.*, 1934, pp. 157-161 (disagrees with Dinsmoor); Becatti, G., *op. cit.*, Il Relievo del Drago e le base della Parthenos, pp. 53-70, Tav. 8-12.

The face of the pedestal was composed of eleven blocks, with six on the west, three of double length on the east and one of double length on the north and south sides.

Professor Dinsmoor believed the fire in the building was sufficiently serious and widespread to have damaged or destroyed the Athena Parthenos. He points out that a large number of the copies belong to the first eighty years or so after the dedication of the statue in 438 B.C. and that after an interval of some two centuries a sudden revival of interest produced many more copies, particularly in the kingdoms in Asia Minor associated with Attalos and Eumenes who had close connection with Athens. He therefore suggests that a new statue of Athena Parthenos to replace the original one belongs to this time. He thinks that the same fire destroyed the pedestal and the statue and the columns of the interior colonnade and that all were repaired in ca. the second century B.C., since the columns are too good for the Byzantine period and are pre-Christian. Mr. Hill who has identified many of them dates them as latish Hellenistic or early Roman Doric fluted, from ca. 1-60 m. up. The building from which they originally came is unknown but it must have had at least forty-eight columns, since the alphabet was run through twice to mark the joins of the epistyle when they were removed. Cf. Chapter XIII, p. 127, N. 5.

8. Thompson, D. B., "The Golden Nikai Reconsidered", *Hesp.* XIII, pp. 173-209, Figs. 1-14 (with very full references); Thompson, H. A., "A Golden Niké from the Athenian Agora", *Athenian Studies Presented to William Scott Ferguson*, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Suppl. Vol. I, 1940, pp. 183-210, Figs. 1-11; Woodward, A. M., "The Golden Nikai of Athens", *Αρχ. Έπ.*

1937, A, pp. 159-170; Schweigert, E., "The Accounts of the Golden Nikai", *Hesp.* IX, pp. 309 ff., Nos. 27, 28, 32; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-95, 122 ff.

9. *IG*², I, 276-292 b (Parthenon); 232-255 and two new fragments *JHS*, 1938, pp. 160 ff., 165 ff. (Pronaos); 256-275 and *JHS*, 1938, pp. 176-177 (Hekatompedon); Ferguson, *op. cit.*, inventories, pp. 68 (Parthenon), 69 (Pronaos), 54 (Hekatompedon); later list, Chapter XII, *passim*. Changes in administrative organisation led to confusion in the inventories and many offerings disappeared from the lists, Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1932, pp. 166 ff.; Meritt, *AFD*, Chapters II, Treasurers of Athena from 443-430 B.C.; VI, Borrowings from Athena in 410/409 B.C.; VII, ditto in 407/6 B.C.; Wade-Gery, "The Financial Decrees of Kallias", *JHS*, 1931, pp. 57-85, Pls. I-III; Tod, *GHI*, No. 51; Woodward, "Studies in Attic Treasure Records", I, The Hekatompedon List of the year 398/7 B.C., *JHS*, 1931, pp. 139-163; West, A. B. and Woodward, II, The Hekatompedon lists of 403/2 to 390/389 B.C., *JHS*, 1938, pp. 69 ff., Pls. VI, VII; Woodward, "Two Attic Treasure Records", *Athenian Studies Presented to W. S. Ferguson*, pp. 377-407; Tod², *GHI*, Nos. 69, 70, 78; Ferguson and Dinsmoor, "The Last Inventory of the Pronaos", *AJA*, 1933, pp. 52-57.

10. Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1947, pp. 134-139, Fig. 6 (lintel re-used in Propylaea). For the Kallias decrees see *ante* Chapter XIV, N. 8 and 12.

11. Frazer, II, pp. 249-255, Fig. 10; *M. and M.*, pp. 353-361, Fig. 5 (plan), 6, 7; Judeich², pp. 225-233, Abb. 26; Accounts, Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1913, III, pp. 371-398, Fig. 1; *IG*², I, 363-387; Tod², *GHI*, I, No. 53; *Hesp.* VII, pp. 79-80, No. 7; Dörpfeld, "Die Propyläen der Akropolis von Athen", *AM*, 1885, I. Das Ursprüngliche Project des Mnesikles, pp. 38-56, Taf. II (plan), III (elevation); II, Ueber die Gestalt des Südwestflügels, pp. 131-144, Taf. V; Stevens, *Hesp.* V, pp. 446-456, Figs. 1-8; XV, pp. 83-89, Fig. 7; Dinsmoor, *AAG*, pp. 198-205, Fig. 75 (plan), 76 (elevation); p. 203, N. 3 (roof); Shoe, Lucy T., "Dark Stone in Greek Architecture", *Hesp.* Suppl. VIII, pp. 341-352, Pls. 45, 46; Propylaea, pp. 344-348; Ceiling, Penrose, *op. cit.*, Chapter IX, pp. 58-59, Pls. XXIV-XXVI; Picard, L'Acropole, I, pp. 22 ff., Fig. 17; Balanos, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-20, Pl. 12 (Doric), Pls. 19-21 (Ionic); NW Wing, windows, Elderkin, G. W., *Problems in Periclean Buildings*, pp. 1-13; Stevens, *Hesp.* XV, pp. 87-89, Fig. 3, point 11; Fausto, F., "Le Asimmetrie della Pinacoteca dei Propilei sull' Acropoli d'Atene", *Annuario*, 1930-1931, pp. 9-26, Figs. 1-18, Tav. I-IX; SW Wing, Dörpfeld, *AM*, 1885, pp. 131-144, Taf. V; *M. and M.*, pp. 358-361 (based on Dörpfeld); Dinsmoor, *AAG*, pp. 203-204, 205, N. 3; NE Wing, Dörpfeld, *AM*, pp. 47-53, Taf. II, III; *M. and M.*, pp. 356-358; Dinsmoor, *AAG*, pp. 204-205, and N. 1 (p. 205). Dörpfeld's restoration with nine columns has long been known to be impossible and the arrangement in *AAG*, Fig. 75 agrees with the views of Messrs. Hill and Stevens to both of whom I am indebted for many suggestions, some hitherto unpublished. For the building near by, Stevens, *Hesp.* V, pp. 511-514, Fig. 60.

12. Judeich², pp. 217-225; *M. and M.*, pp. 361-366; Frazer, II, pp. 257-261; *IG*², I, 24, 25; Dinsmoor, "The Inscriptions of Athena Niké", *AJA*, 1923, pp. 318-321; *Hesp.* Suppl. V, pp. 159-160, N. 340; Leland, pp. 215-216; *AAG*, pp. 185-187, Fig. 68, Pl. XLIV (*cf.* Temple on the Ilissos and Chapter XIX, N. 16); "Archaeology and Astronomy", reprinted from *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 1939, pp. 95-173, pp. 124 ff. Professor Dinsmoor puts the

beginning of the Athena Niké Temple ca. 426 B.C. and of the Erechtheion in 421-413 B.C. with work resumed in 408 B.C.; Wrede, "Mnesikles und der Nikepyrgos", *AM*, 1932, pp. 74-91, Abb. 1-5, Beil. XIV-XVI; Schleif, H., "Nikepyrgos und Mnesikles", *Jahrb.*, 1933, pp. 177-187, Abb. 1-3. See *ante* Chapter XIV, N. 15 for early bastion. Dinsmoor, "The Sculptured Parapet of Athene Nike", *AJA*, 1926, pp. 1-31, Figs. 1-8, Pl. I; "The Nike Parapet once more", *AJA*, 1930, pp. 281-295, Figs. 1, 2; Carpenter, R., "The Sculptural Composition of the Nike Parapet", *AJA*, 1929, pp. 467-483, Figs. 1-11, Pl. VII; *Ibid.*, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet, passim. Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, II, pp. 139-174 (28 slabs, 12 fragments); fragment 983 (Yorke, *JHS*, XIII, p. 279) is not in the main Acropolis Museum; new slab, *AJA*, 1936, pp. 145-147, Figs. 3, 4.

13. Special architectural studies and reconstructions are Orlandos, A. C., "Zum Tempel der Athena Niké", *AM*, 1915, pp. 27-44, Abb. 1-11, Taf. V, VI; *Ibid.*, "Nouvelles Observations sur la Construction du Temple d'Athene Niké", *BCH*, 1947-1948, pp. 1-38, Figs. 1-30, Pls. I, II; Stevens, "The Cornice of the Temple of Athene Niké", *AJA*, 1908, pp. 398-405, Figs. 1-10 (one block is from the Erechtheion).

Chapter XVI

The standard work is Paton and Stevens, *The Erechtheum* (cited as Paton), many of the plates by Mr. Stevens have been used in all subsequent publications. Our Fig. 29, which was made for me by Mr. Stevens shows steps between the eastern and western halves of the building, an arrangement which many do not accept. For Mr. Stevens's reasons see below, N. 5.

1. Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1932, pp. 314 ff., Figs. 1-4; *AAG*, pp. 187 ff.; early plan, pp. 190-192, Fig. 71 and N. 3, p. 190 (against Dörpfeld's plan); Dörpfeld, *Erechtheion*, pp. 25-30, Abb. 2, Taf. 13-17; pp. 82-90, Abb. 19.

2. Paton, Chapter IV, The Inscriptions (by L. D. Caskey); Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1913, pp. 242-265, Figs. 1-3; additional fragments, *Hesp.* II, pp. 377 ff., No. 9; VII, pp. 268-269, No. 3; VIII, p. 245 (Inv. No. 1, 5394); IX, p. 102, No. 19; Dinsmoor, *AAG*, p. 194 says of a total of 130 workmen 21% were slaves, 54% metics, 25% full citizens.

3. Paton, Chapter V, pp. 483-581 (history); Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1932, p. 172 (summary of evidence for date), pp. 170-172, Fig. 2, (Roman repairs).

4. Paton, Chapter I, well sub-divided, *passim*; Balanos, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-32, Pls. 3, 23-46; Dörpfeld, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Picard, *L'Acropole*, I, pp. 17-49, Figs. 19-48; Judeich², pp. 270-280, Figs. 33-35, Taf. XI, XII; Frazer, II, pp. 330-339, Fig. 36; *M. and M.*, Chapter XX. Foundations, Paton, pp. 5-18, east wall, pp. 30-46, Fig. 29 (restoration), north and south walls, pp. 46-54, west façade, pp. 54-69; Balanos, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-29, Pls. 29-34.

5. Interior, Paton, pp. 137-180. Although there is no material evidence for a stair between the eastern and western parts of the interior, the literary evidence (chiefly concerning the route of Pausanias and that of the "profane dog") (Philochoros, Fr. 146) is sufficiently ambiguous to be differently interpreted. Mr. Stevens in *Hesp.* V, p. 487 and in a memorandum dated July 9,

1951, gives the following reasons for inserting a staircase. That the dog descended from the Temple of Athene Polias to the Pandroseion; that Pausanias on his way across the Acropolis from south to north would naturally have entered through the East Portico and gone first to the cella of Athena Polias unless the door had been closed, but that his known route through the North Door to the western rooms, the cella of Athena Polias and lastly the Pandroseion implies passage from the west to the east part via the interior; that one guard could have protected the many valuables in both the eastern and western parts of the building had there been a connecting staircase; and that by analogy with the small inconspicuous staircase in the South Porch a small one could be arranged between the east and west cellas. Inner doors, Paton, pp. 151-161; west room, 161-171; niche, etc., pp. 171-175, Fig. 111 (reconstruction), pp. 301-308; transverse beam, pp. 76-77, Fig. 49, pp. 154, 177, 646-647, Fig. 235. Opinions differ whether struts placed at an angle of about 45° were needed to support the transverse beam, as shown in the reconstructions, or whether the beam ends rested on anta-like projections or brackets. An inscription records that the people of the island of Karpathos contributed a cypress from the sanctuary of Apollo to the temple of Guardian Athena for repairs after some disaster, presumably a fire, and it is probable that a huge beam was cut from the trunk to bridge the great span of some 10 m., Paton, p. 461, N. 2; ceilings, Paton, pp. 76-77, 362-368, Figs. 187, 189; Dörpfeld, *Erech.*, pp. 14-19, Abb. 1; 60-71, Abb. 10-13; 72-81, Abb. 14-18; Taf. 28c, 29, 30; Davis, P. H., and Holland, L. B., "The Coffering of the Erechtheion", *AJA*, 1939, pp. 303-304; *Ibid.*, "On the Workshop of the Erechtheion", *AJA*, 1948, pp. 485-489.

6. Paton, pp. 18-27; ceiling, pp. 26-30; Balanos, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32, Pls. 42-44.

7. Paton, pp. 80-97; opening, pp. 89-91, Figs. 57, 59; Balanos, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-27, Pls. 22-28; door, Paton, pp. 98-104; crypt and altar-site, pp. 104-110, 318, 490; lintel, Dinsmoor, "Structural Iron in Greek Architecture", *AJA*, 1922, pp. 151-152. The crypt has sometimes been identified as the Tomb of Erechtheus who was buried on the spot where he was stricken by the thunderbolt of Zeus. Kavvadias, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1897, pp. 15, 24, thinks the grave was in a cleft in cave Γ in the Long Rocks; Keramopoulos, 'Αρχ. Δελτ., 1929, pp. 98-101 dissents and thinks it was under the North Porch. See also Elderkin, *Hesp.* X, pp. 113-117.

8. Paton, pp. 15-18, Pls. I, II, V; Holland, *AJA*, 1924, excavations under the court, pp. 151 ff., Figs. 4-12, Pl. VII; pp. 407, 410, Fig. 1, 414 ff., Fig. 6; pp. 430-432; Stevens, *Hesp.* XV, "The Paved Area east of the North Portico", pp. 97-102, Figs. 151-18.

9. Paton, pp. 110-119; Korai, Chapter III, pp. 282 ff.; Stevens, "The Pose of the Caryatides of the Erechtheion", *Hesp.* XV, pp. 102-106, Figs. 19-25; Balanos, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31, Pls. 36-41.

10. Casson, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-218, the Remains of the frieze of the Erechtheion; Paton, Chapter III (by H. N. Fowler), pp. 239-276 (bibl. p. 241, N. 3).

11. For the name, see *ante* Chapter XIV, N. 4; Elderkin, G. W., "The Cults of the Erechtheion", *Hesp.* X, pp. 113-124; baldacchino, Paton, pp. 144-146; Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1932, pp. 318 ff., N. 4, 5, 6; contents, Frazer, II, pp. 340-343; for the type of statue of Athena Polias see Bieber, "Black-Figured Lekythoi in Buffalo", *AJA*, 1944, pp. 121-129, Figs. 1-3; altars, Paton, pp. 484, 490-491,

and index; Frazer, II, pp. 339-340; olive, Jahn-Michaelis, *Arx*, p. 71, N. 9*, 10; Frazer, II, pp. 343-344; serpent, Jahn-Michaelis, *Arx*, p. 70, N. 8; Paton, p. 491, N. 1; *M. and M.*, pp. 510-511; Frazer, II, pp. 169-170, 578 and N. 8.

The olive tree planted in 1917 in the Pandroseion is still flourishing.

12. Professor Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1932, p. 322, N. 5 argues that the small size of the South Porch is the best proof that the western part of the Old Temple of Athena was rebuilt, since the awkward angle made by the west wall of the Erechtheion and the west wall of the Opisthodomos would have been concealed by the porch which was designed to fill the space.

13. Kekropceion, Paton, pp. 127-137; *P.A.*, pp. 43-48; Stevens, *Hesp.* XV, pp. 93-97, Figs. 12-14; Pandroseion, Paton, pp. 119-127; *P.A.*, pp. 48 ff.; *M. and M.*, pp. 571-572; Stevens, *Hesp.* V, pp. 489 ff., House of Arrephoroi, *Hesp.* V, pp. 489-591, Fig. 10; *M. and M.*, pp. 512-513.

Chapter XVII

1. Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1947, p. 122, Fig. 3 (plan before 480 B.C.), Fig. 4 (Periklean period); Stevens, *Hesp.* V, pp. 459-470, Figs. 13-22. Recent excavations at Brauron have brought to light remains of a temple, a smaller sanctuary, a long stoa, inscriptions, sculptures, terracotta figurines and pottery, the latter of which extends from Early Helladic to Red-Figured and confirms the tradition of the antiquity of the site. *AJA*, 1949, pp. 370-371, Fig. 3; Πρακτικά, 1945-1948, pp. 81-90, Elk. 1-7; 1949, pp. 75-90, Elk. 1-20; 1950, pp. 173-187, Elk. 1-16; pp. 188-193, Elk. 1-6 (prehistoric pottery). Ar. *Lysist.* 641-644 tells how at the age of seven the girls became Arrephoroi, at ten grinders of grain to the sovereign Lady, then clad in a saffron robe were bears in the Brauronian festival. By that time the bear skin had been discarded for something more elegant. A ritual dance with some of the worshippers dressed as bears is on the robe of Despoina by Damophon of Messene, Nat. Mus. No. 1737, *Guide*, pp. 68-69; *AJA*, 1906, pp. 302-309; *BSA*, XIII, pp. 392-395; *AJA*, 1934, pp. 107-111, Pls. X, XI; Bieber, *op. cit.*, in Chapter XVI, N. 11. See also Cook, A. B., "Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age", *JHS*, 1894, pp. 81-161, Figs. 1-21, of which the ritual appears to be a survivor. A small stone bear found on the Acropolis shown in *M. and M.*, p. 403, Fig. 26 is in the Acropolis Museum but has no catalogue number.

2. Stevens, *Hesp.* Suppl. III, pp. 7-19, Figs. 6-14.

3. Judeich², pp. 234-235; Frazer, II, pp. 348-352, Figs. 37, 38; *M. and M.*, pp. 460, 522-523; Stevens, *Hesp.* V, pp. 491-499, Figs. 42-49. Michaelis had already estimated 7.50 m. for the height of the statue plus 15.0 m. for the base before the text of Niketas was available. Raubitschek and Stevens, "The Pedestal of the Athena Promachos", *Hesp.* XV, pp. 107-114, Figs. 1-7; Raubitschek, *Dedications*, pp. 198-201, N. 172; Dinsmoor, "Attic Building Accounts", IV, The Statue of Athena Promachos, *AJA*, 1921, pp. 118-129, Fig. 1; *I.G.*², I, 328; Meritt, "Fragments of Attic Building Accounts", *AJA*, 1933, pp. 473-476, Fig. 3; *Hesp.* V, pp. 372 ff., No. 4; VIII, p. 76; XII, pp. 12-17, No. 2; Pfuhl, E., "Die Grosse Eherne Athena des Phidias", *AM*, 1932, pp. 148-157, Abb. 1-3; Richter *S. and S.*, pp. 216-217, Figs. 594, 596; *Ibid.*, *TCP*, p. 8; new bronze statuette, *BCH*, 1950, p. 291, Pl. XXXVI-1.

4. Hdt., V, 77; Frazer, II, pp. 352-353; *M. and M.*, pp. 523-524; Judeich², pp. 236-239; Raubitschek, *Dedications*, pp. 191-194, No. 168, pp. 201-205, No. 173 (both with very full bibliographies); *Hesp.* VIII, p. 158, No. 3; Stevens, *Hesp.* V, pp. 503-506, Fig. 54; XV, pp. 81 ff., Fig. 4; Weller, *AJA*, 1905, pp. 61 ff.; Holland, *AJA*, 1924, pp. 77, 402 ff.; 1939, pp. 296 ff.; Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1932, pp. 315-316.

5. Stevens, *Hesp.* V, pp. 499-504, Figs. 1, a, b, c, 41, 50-52; Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1947, p. 122, N. 69 disagrees about Mycenaean date.

6. Perikles, Pliny, *H.N.*, XXXIV, 74; Frazer, II, p. 321; Richter, *S. and S.*, pp. 175-176, Figs. 623, 624; Athena, Pliny, *H.N.*, XXXIV, 54; Lucian, *Εἰκόνες* 64; Stevens, *Hesp.* V, pp. 584-585, Fig. 63; Richter, *S. and S.*, pp. 227-228, Figs. 614-617; *Ibid.*, *TCP*, p. 12; Becatti, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-174, Tav. 84, 85; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 4 ff. He identified a helmetless statue of Athena in Dresden and the well known marble head of Bologna as copies of the bronze original. The theory is incapable of proof though it has much to commend it.

7. *M. and M.*, pp. 344-346, Fig. 1; Frazer, II, pp. 249-250; Judeich², p. 212, N. 3 (many references); Picard, *L'Acropole*, I, pp. 15 ff.; Dörpfeld, "Das choragische Monument des Nikias", *AM*, 1885, pp. 219-230, Pl. VII. Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1910, pp. 459-484, Figs. 1-11 (*cf.* Chapter XI, p. 110, N. 11, 12); *I.G.*², II, 3055; *I.G.*², III, 398; Dinsmoor, *AAG*, pp. 285-286, dates it "after the Herulian invasion in 398 A.D."

8. Stevens, *Hesp.* XV, pp. 73-92, Figs. 1-11; sight lines, Fig. 3, point 11 (*cf.* Chapter XV, pp. 161, 164, N. 11).

9. Judeich, pp. 216-217; Picard, *op. cit.*, I, p. 18, N. 2, 3; Dinsmoor, *AJA*, 1920, p. 83; Stevens, *Hesp.* XV, pp. 89-92; Graindor, *Aug.*, pp. 48-50; *Plut. Ant.*, 60; *I.G.*², II, 4122, 4123.

10. Stevens, *Hesp.* XV, pp. 82-83, Fig. 5; Frazer, II, pp. 255-257; Judeich², p. 229; *I.G.*², I, 400; *I.G.*², II, 3260 (Germanicus); Raubitschek, *Dedications*, pp. 146-152, Nos. 135, 135a, 135b; pp. 517-519.

11. Paus. I, 22.6; Frazer, II, pp. 262-268; *M. and M.*, pp. 367-371; Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, pp. 216-217, N. 59 (bibl.); *Ibid.*, p. 424, N. 14a (by Dinsmoor) suggests that wooden panels by Polygnotos originally in the Old Propylaea were hung in the new Pinakothek as old masters.

12. Hermes, *Hesp.* V, pp. 446-447, Fig. 2, G; Richter, *S. and S.*, pp. 178-179, Fig. 628; Charites, *Hesp.* XV, p. 81, Fig. 4, No. 19; Frazer, II, pp. 270-271, Fig. 12; *M. and M.*, pp. 373-382, Figs. 13-17.

13. Route of Pausanias, *Hesp.* V, pp. 482 ff., Fig. 1; statues in Propylaea, *ibid.*, pp. 451-454, Fig. 3, C-H; Hygieia, *M. and M.*, pp. 389-392, Figs. 21, 22; Frazer, II, pp. 277-281, Fig. 14; *Hesp.* V, pp. 456-458, Figs. 10, 11; Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, No. 166, pp. 185-188; p. 523.

14. Diitrephes, *Hesp.* V, pp. 452-454, Fig. 3, D; Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, No. 132, pp. 141-144; *I.G.*², I, 527; Dinsmoor, *Hesp.* Suppl. V, pp. 163-164 (discussion of Diitrephes I and II); Trojan horse, Paus. I.23.8; Frazer II, pp. 286-287; *M. and M.*, pp. 405-406, Fig. 28; Stevens, *Hesp.* V, pp. 460-461, Fig. 14 (restoration); Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, No. 176, pp. 208-209, 524-525; Epicharinos, *ibid.*, No. 120, pp. 124-125; Athena and Marsyas, *M. and M.*, pp. 407-410, Fig. 29, (marble vase, Nat. Mus. 127, *Guide*, p. 48); Frazer II, pp. 289-294 (list), Figs. 15, 18; Richter, *S. and S.*, pp. 209-210, Figs. 584-593;

Hesp. V, p. 483, Fig. 36, Fig. 28, M; Theseus, *ibid.*, pp. 483-484, Fig. 28, R; Nat. Mus. 1664, 1664 A.

15. Bull, Stevens, *Hesp.* Suppl. III, pp. 19-24, Figs. 15-19, Fig. 15, Q (revised view for *Hesp.* V, p. 484); Ergane, *ibid.*, pp. 55-57, Figs. 20 D, 41; Judeich² p. 241, N. 2-4; Gé, *I.G.*², II, 4758; *Hesp.* XV, p. 4, Fig. 4; *M. and M.*, p. 415, Fig. 31; Kimon *I.G.*², II, 3774; *Hesp.* XV, pp. 4-10, Figs. 5-11; Procne, Casson, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1358, 2789, pp. 257-259; Frazer, II, p. 300; *M. and M.*, p. 421; Richter, *S. and S.*, p. 179, N. 13; *Hesp.* XV, pp. 10-11, Figs. 12, 13. The last four consider it unworthy of Alkamenes, though Casson estimated it more highly. Athena and Poseidon *Hesp.* XV, p. 11, Figs. 14, 15; *M. and M.*, pp. 422-423, Figs. 33-35, 41; Frazer, II, pp. 300-312.

16. *M. and M.*, pp. 423-427, Figs. 36, 37; Miss Harrison's brilliant suggestion that there might have been a shrine to Zeus Polieus on the Acropolis somewhat similar to that shown in Fig. 37 gave the clue for the discovery of the Temenos of Zeus Polieus (see Chapter XIV, p. 146, N. 17); Stevens, *Hesp.* XV, pp. 12-15, Figs. 17-18, for a revision of his *Hesp.* Suppl. III, pp. 79-86. Statue, Nat. Mus. 15161; 'Αρχ. Δελτ., 1926, Παράρτημα, pp. 86 ff., Εη. 1, 2; *BCH*, 1928, p. 466, Fig. 1; 1929, p. 493, Fig. 1; *AJA*, 1929, pp. 141-142; Karousos, Ch., "Ὁ Ποσειδών τοῦ Ἀρτεμίσίου", 'Αρχ. Δελτ., 1930-1931, pp. 41-104, Εη. 1-42, Πlv. 1-5; Mylonas, G. E., "The Bronze Statue from Artemision", *AJA*, 1944, pp. 143-160, Figs. 1-6.

17. Iphikrates, *Hesp.* XV, pp. 15-16, Fig. 3, No. 26 or 27; quadriga, *ibid.*, pp. 17-23, Figs. 20, 21; *I.G.*², II, 3123; Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, No. 174, pp. 205-207; *Hesp.* VIII, pp. 158 ff., No. 8; Rome and Augustus, Judeich², p. 256, Fig. 31; Graindor, *Aug.*, pp. 30-31, 150, 180 ff.; Dinsmoor, *AG*, p. 284, N. 3, Fig. 103 (relation to Erechtheion).

18. About 1000 ostraka, mostly with well-known names, have been identified in the Agora and elsewhere. Seventeen of Xanthippos have been found, fifteen of them in the Agora. Vanderpool, "Some Ostraka from the Athenian Agora", *Hesp.* Suppl. VIII, pp. 394-411, (Addenda, p. 412), Figs. 1-10, Pls. 57-60; Raubitschek, "The Ostracism of Xanthippos", *AJA*, 1947, pp. 257-262, Fig. 1; Broneer, "Notes on the Xanthippos Ostraka", *AJA*, 1948, pp. 341-343. Attalos, *M. and M.*, pp. 474-477, Fig. 64; Frazer, II, pp. 322-325, Figs. 33, 34; Richter, *S. and S.*, pp. 10-11, Figs. 108, 120, 178.

19. Dickins, *op. cit.*, I, no. 625, pp. 160-163; Payne and Young, p. 46, Pl. 116, and N. 4 saying "it might be before 530 B.C."; Richter, *AGA*, pp. 139-140, puts it 525-500; *M. and M.*, pp. 478 ff., Fig. 65; Frazer, II, pp. 329-330; Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, No. 7, a, b, c, pp. 12-13, 491-495, suggests that Acropolis Museum No. 602 which might have stood on this inscribed column would have been the work of a pupil and not of Endoios himself. Other inscriptions with the name of Endoios are discussed on pp. 491-495.

Chapter XVIII

1. Paus., I.28.5-29.1; Frazer, II, pp. 363-367; Judeich², pp. 299-301; Semnai, Harrison, *Primitive Athens*, p. 105; *Ibid.*, *M. and M.*, pp. 554-563, Figs. 12, 13; *Ibid.*, *Prolegomena*, pp. 239-256; see ante, Chapter III, p. 31 and N. 14; Chapel of St. Dionysios, *Arch. Delt.*, 1916, pp. 119 ff.

2. Harrison, *Primitive Athens*, pp. 83-136, Plan Fig. 35 (our Fig. 30); very full bibliography of Official Reports of the German excavations, pp. 160-163. Prehistoric pottery, *AM*, 1892, p. 445; 1895, pp. 175-176; 1896, pp. 293-294; 1901, p. 50, Fig. 1; Agora, Dörpfeld, *AA*, I, pp. 32-56; Dionysiac precinct, *PA*, pp. 89-96, Figs. 24-29; Judeich², pp. 291 ff., Abb. 47; Amyneion, *ibid.*, pp. 289-291; *PA*, pp. 100-105, Figs. 30-32.

3. Paus., I.14.1; Thuc. II, 15; Harrison, *PA*, pp. 111-131, Figs. 35-44; *Ibid.*, *M. and M.*, pp. 87-89, Fig. 20; Frazer, II, pp. 112-118; V, pp. 483-487; see *ante*, Chapter VII, N. 2.

4. Results of the recent excavations will be found in Kourouniotes, K., and Thompson, H. A., "The Pnyx in Athens", *Hesp.* I, pp. 90-217, Figs. 1-70, Pls. I-IV; Thompson, H. A., "Pnyx and Thesmophorion", *Hesp.* V, pp. 151-200, Figs. 1-29, Pl. I; Thompson, H. A. and Scranton, R. L., "Stoas and City Walls on the Pnyx", *Hesp.* XII, pp. 269-383, Figs. 1-73, Pl. XIV. Earlier accounts in Frazer, II, pp. 375-377; Judeich², pp. 391 ff. Auditorium, first period, *Hesp.* I, pp. 96-113, Figs. 2-7; second period, *ibid.*, pp. 113-138, Figs. 8-20; third period, pp. 139-192, Figs. 21-57; V, pp. 151-154, Figs. 1-3; XII, pp. 297-299.

5. Terraces and stoas, *Hesp.* V, pp. 156-188, Figs. 7-23, Pl. I; XII, pp. 269 ff.; East Stoa, V, pp. 156-165, Figs. 7-12, Pl. I (here called "Long Stoa"); XII, pp. 280-286; West Stoa, XII, pp. 273-280; Zeus Hypistos, I, pp. 193-200, Figs. 58-60; V, pp. 154-156, Figs. 4-6; Altar, XII, pp. 299-300; Meton's sundial, I, pp. 207-211, Figs. 66, 67.

6. Wall, first period, *Hesp.* V, pp. 192-200, Figs. 25-29; XII, pp. 301 ff.; Compartment wall, pp. 303-340, Figs. 18-42, Pl. XIV (our Fig. 31).

7. Wall, second period, *Hesp.* XII, pp. 340-362, Figs. 43-53; Dipylon Gate, XII, 312-324, Figs. 23-33; 352-356, Figs. 54-58; Mouseion Hill, Wall, XII, pp. 324-330, Figs. 34-39; pp. 357 ff.; Fort, XII, p. 331, Figs. 40-41.

8. Judeich², pp. 388-398, Taf. 22 (p. 384); Harrison, *M. and M.*, pp. 477-478. A very complete recent study is Santangelo, Maria, "Il Monumento di C. Julius Antiochus Philopappos in Atene", *Annuario*, III-V, Nuova Serie, 1941-1943, pp. 153-253, Figs. 1-80, Taf. A-L, I-IX, I-III (in colour, after Balanos). The monument was reconstructed by Balanos in 1899. The right hand side was afterwards struck by lightning but fortunately was not very seriously damaged.

Chapter XIX

The most comprehensive recent studies of Roman Athens are the four by Graindor on the times of Augustus, Trajan, Hadrian and Herodes Atticus.

1. Judeich², pp. 371 ff.; Frazer, II, pp. 186-187; Harrison, *M. and M.*, pp. 199-200, Fig. 8; Graindor, *Augustus*, pp. 188-190; Robinson, H. S., "The Tower of the Winds and the Roman Market-Place", *AJA*, 1943, pp. 291-305, Figs. 1-6. Inscriptions, *I.G.*², II, 3175 (epistyle); 3251 (Lucius); 1100 (oil).

2. Judeich², pp. 371-374, Abb. 47, 48; Graindor, *Augustus*, pp. 184-191, (bibl. p. 184, N. 2); *AA*, 1043, pp. 300-302, Abb. 4; *AJA*, 1943, pp. 299-305.

3. Judeich², pp. 374-375, Abb. 48; Frazer, II, pp. 187-188; *M. and M.*,

pp. 200-203, Fig. 9; Stuart and Revett, I, pp. 13-25, Chapter III, Pls. I-XIX; Graindor, *Augustus*, pp. 178, N. 3; 197-198; *AJA*, 1943, pp. 291-299.

4. Judeich², p. 394; Graindor, *Augustus*, pp. 173, 176; *AJA*, 1943, pp. 303-305.

5. Judeich², pp. 375-378, Abb. 49, Taf. 20; Graindor, *Hadrian*, pp. 230-245, Figs. 12 (Pl. VII), 13, 14 (Pl. VIII), 15; Sisson, M.A., "The Stoa of Hadrian at Athens", *BSR*, XI, pp. 50-72, Figs. 1-6, Pls. XVII-XXVI; *AA*, 1943, 298-301; style of masonry, Thompson, H. A., *Hesp.* I, pp. 187-188; Graindor, *Hadrian*, pp. 214-216.

6. Travlos, J., "Ἀνασκαφή ἐν τῇ Βιβλιοθήκῃ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ", *Πρακτικά*, 1950, pp. 41-63, Figs. 1-16, Pl. I.

7. Sisson, *l.c.*, pp. 64-66; Graindor, *Hadrian*, pp. 241-244 disagrees; barrel vault roof, Sisson, p. 58.

8. Judeich², pp. 381-382, Taf. 14; Graindor, *Hadrian*, pp. 228-229, Fig. 11 (Pl. VI).

9. Travlos, J., "Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν τῷ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ὀλυμπίειῳ, *Πρακτικά*, 1949, pp. 25-43, Εἰκ. 1-13, Πιν. Α.

10. Paus., I.18.6; Frazer, II, pp. 178-181, Fig. 7; Judeich², pp. 382-385, Abb. 50, Taf. 21; Graindor, *Hadrian*, pp. 218-225, Fig. 9 (Pl. V); Dinsmoor, *AAG*, pp. 91-120 (Peisistratean), 280-281, Fig. 101 (capital).

11. Judeich², pp. 417 ff., (bibl. in N. 3, p. 417); Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, pp. 181-183, Figs. 9, 10; *Ibid.*, *Hadrian*, pp. 48, 63, thinks Hadrian re-established the Panathenaic Games though Herodes built the Stadion.

12. Judeich², pp. 418-419; Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, p. 184.

13. Paus., I.19.1; Thuc. II, 15; *I.G.*², I, 761; Frazer, II, pp. 189 ff.; *M. and M.*, pp. 203-206, Fig. 10. This is the same Peisistratos who dedicated the Altar of the Twelve Gods, see *ante* Chapter VII, p. 70, N. 13. For other dedications, see Judeich, p. 386, N. 5.

14. Judeich², p. 416 (reliefs N. 4); *M. and M.*, pp. 226-228; Earlier remains now gone, Skias, *Πρακτικά*, 1893, pp. 111-136, Πιν. Α; 1897, pp. 73-93, Πιν Α. The ivory statuette from the Agora, found in 1936 in a well and reconstructed from innumerable tiny fragments has been identified as a copy of the statue of Apollo Lykeios, *Hesp.*, VI, pp. 349-351, Figs. 13, 14.

15. Paus., I.19.6; Frazer, II, pp. 202-203; *M. and M.*, pp. 228-229; Wheeler, J. R., "An Attic Decree, the Sanctuary of Kodros", *AJA*, 1887, pp. 38-49.

16. Stuart and Revett, Vol. I, Chapter II, pp. 7-11, Pls. I-VIII; Dinsmoor, *AAG*, pp. 185-187, thinks the original plans for the Temple of Athene Niké were used here. Möbius, H., "Das Metroon in Agrai und sein Fries", *AM*, 1935-1936, pp. 234-268, Abb. 1, 2, Taf. 89-92.

Chapter XX

For the area in general the standard work still is Brueckner, A., *Der Friedhof am Eridanos* (referred to as Brueckner); see also *M. and M.*, Chapter XXIV, The Street of Tombs: *Guide Bleu*, 1932, pp. 79-82.

1. Richter, *AAG*, pp. 8-9, Figs. 1, 13, 38; *AA*, 1936, Fig. 18.

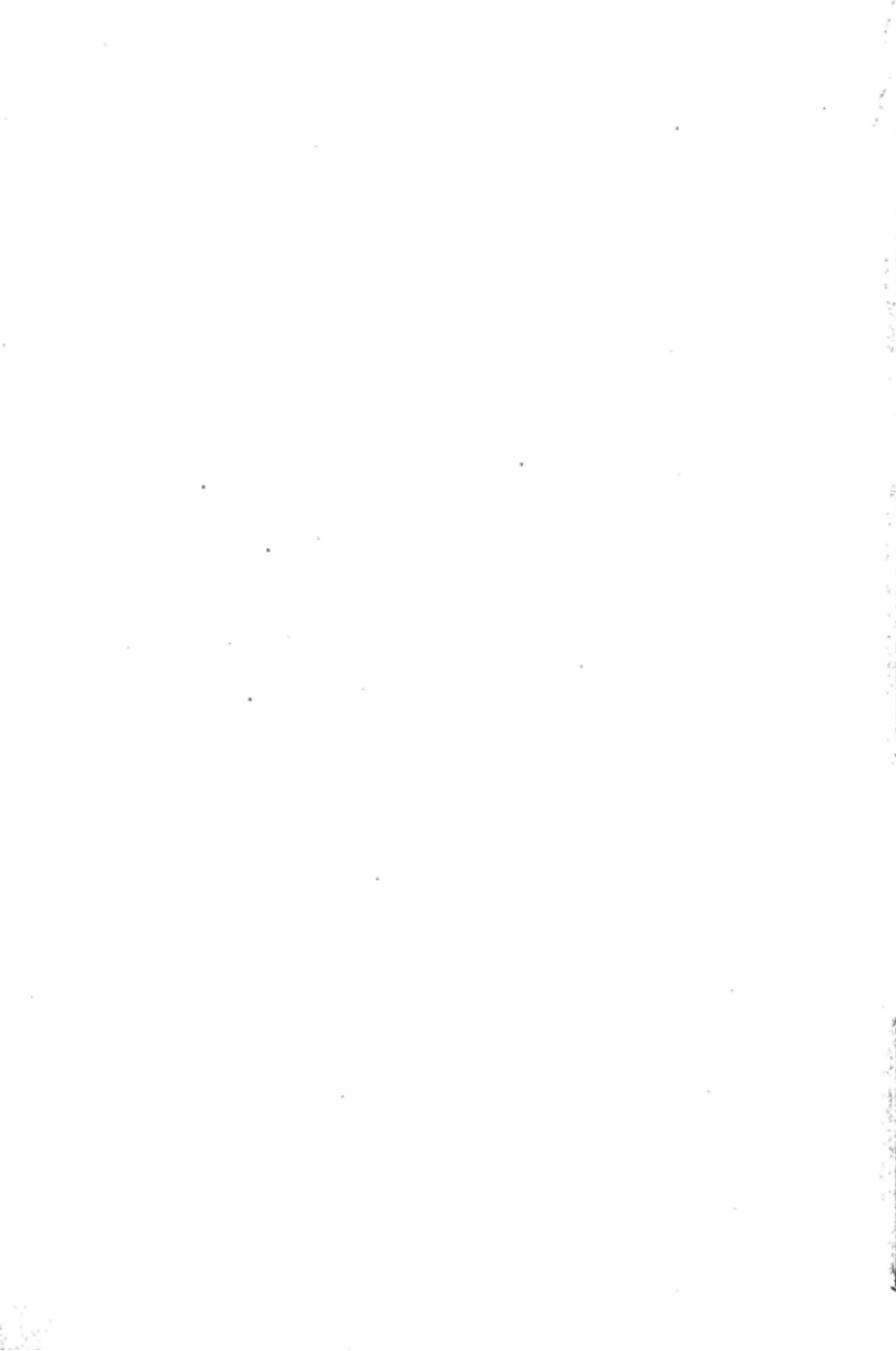
2. Karo, pp. 27 ff.; pp. 22-23; Richter, *AAG*, pp. 90-92, 119-123.

3. Conze, A., *Die Attischen Grabreliefs, passim*; Dexilaos, Brueckner, pp. 57-64, Abb. 30-36; Karo, pp. 31-32, Pls. 30, 31; *M. and M.*, pp. 578-581, Fig. 17. The relief is now in the Kerameikos Museum. Inscriptions, *M. and M.*, pp. 573-576, Fig. 14; Nat. Mus. No. 754, *Guide*, pp. 137-138; similar reliefs, *ibid.*, No. 2774, p. 137; No. 3708. *AA*, 1931, 218-219, Figs. 1-3; *AJA*, 1931, pp. 340-341; *ILN*, 27 June, 1931, p. 1098. Agathon, Brueckner, pp. 64-74, Abb. 37-44; Karo, p. 32, Pl. 32; Dionysios, Brueckner, 74-83, Abb. 45-51; Karo, p. 32; Ampharete, *Ibid.*, p. 28, Fig. 28; *AA*, 1933, 279 ff., Abb. 17; *AM*, 1935, pp. 23-34, Abb. 1, Taf. V, Beil. III. The relief is now in the Kerameikos Museum.
4. Brueckner, pp. 43 ff., Abb. 18-21, Pl. I; inscriptions, pp. 53-55, Figs. 27, 28; Wilhelm, A., "Ἀττικά Ὑψηλοῦρα", *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1905, 215-252; well, Brueckner, pp. 46-47, Fig. 18 A.
5. See *ante* Chapter III for references.
6. Paus., I.29.2; Frazer, II, p. 379; *M. and M.*, p. 571; Philadelphus, "Le Sanctuaire d'Artemis Kallisté", *BCH*, 1927, pp. 155-163, Figs. 1-4, Pl. VIII; Roussel, "Remarques sur le Bas-relief de Kallisté", *ibid.*, pp. 164-169, in which he calls attention to the large pithoi on the relief and refers to Miss Harrison's connection of these with the feast of Anthesteria (*JHS*, 1900, pp. 99-114); Harrison, *Prolegomena*, Chapter II. Judeich², p. 412 and N. 2 does not believe that the ancient remains (at 11 Platea Street) belong to this temenos.
7. Paus., I.29.2; Frazer, II, p. 379; *M. and M.*, pp. 571-572. Frazer thinks the temple was opened on the feast of Anthesterion, Judeich thinks it was on the Great Dionysia, p. 412, N. 4. See *ante* pp. 107-108, N. 5.
8. Karo, pp. 25-26; Judeich², p. 408, N. 16; *AA*, 1930, 89-90, Fig. 5; Van Hook, L., "On the Lacedaemonians buried in the Kerameikos", *AJA*, 1932, pp. 290-292, Figs. 1, 2. Other state graves, *AA*, 1938, 612 ff.; 1940, 345 ff.; 1942, 203 ff.
9. Karo, pp. 24-26; Judeich², pp. 412 ff. Not far from the precinct of Kallisté several well built tombs have been found along the line of the road, *BCH*, 1927, pp. 155-157, Fig. 1; *AA*, 1930, 93-94; *AJA*, 1930, p. 390.
10. *M. and M.*, Chapter XXV. Excavations, *AA*, 1931, 218-219, Abb. 1-3; 1933, 207-208; 1934, 136-140, Abb. 8 (plan); 1935, 171; *AJA*, 1930, p. 390; 1931, pp. 340-341; 1933, p. 491, Pl. LIV.1 (peribolos), LIV.2 (graves), LV.1 and 1934, p. 602 (gymnasium); 1937, pp. 138-139, Figs. 4-7.
11. *M. and M.*, pp. 602-604.
12. Frazer, II, pp. 391 ff.; Broneer, "Hero Cults in the Corinthian Agora", *Hesp.* XI, pp. 128-161, Figs. 1-11, gives some interesting points about torch races, pp. 149 ff.

ABBREVIATIONS FOR PERIODICALS

Abbreviations for books are given after their titles in the Bibliography

- AA, *Archaeologischer Anzeiger in Jahrbuch Des Kaiserlichen Archaeologischen Instituts*, 1886—
 AJA, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1897—
 AM, *Mitteilungen des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, 1876—
 Annuario, *Annuario della Regia Scuola Archaeologica di Atene*, 1914—
 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 'Αρχαιολογική 'Εφημερίς, περιοδικὸν τῆς ἐν 'Αθῆναις 'Αρχαιολογικῆς 'Εταιρείας, 1837—
 BCH, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1877—
 BSA, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1895—
 BSR, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 1902—
 Hesp., *Hesperia: Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 1932—
 Jahrb., *Jahrbuch des (kaiserlich) deutschen archaeologischen Instituts*, 1886—
 Jahr. d. Oestr., *Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archaeolog. Instituts in Wien*, 1898—
 JHS, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1880—
 Met. Mus. Stud., *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Studies*, 1928—



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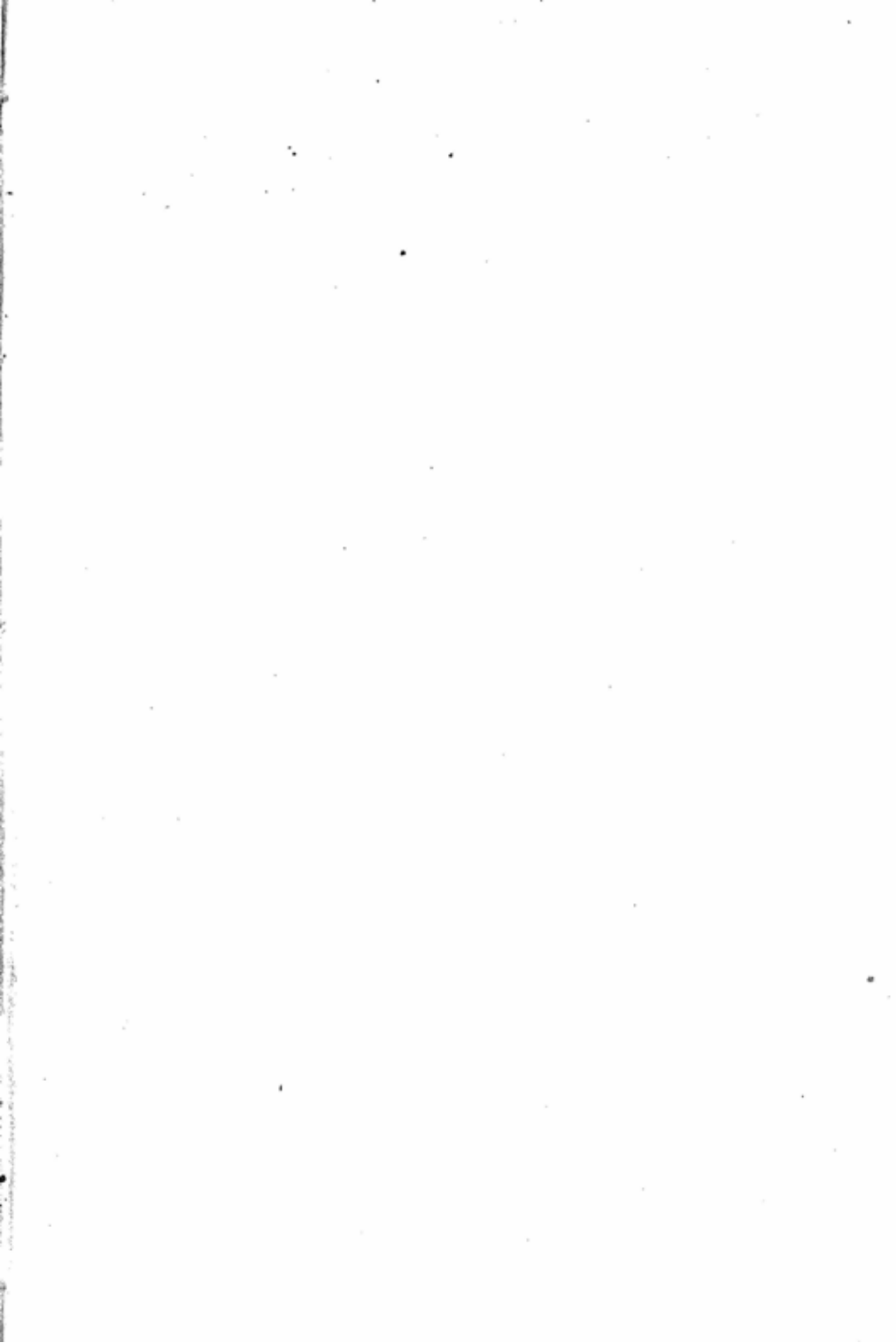
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